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THE
CASE STATED,
ON
PHILOSOPHICAL GROUND,
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
HER COLONIES:
OR THE
ANALOGY
BETWEEN
STATES AND INDIVIDUALS,
Respecting the TERM of
POLITICAL ADULTNESS,
POINTED OUT.

Inutiles ramos amputans, feliciores inserit.

L O N D O N:

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P R E F A C E.

THE Freedom of the Press is our glory and palladium. It is, indeed, our national breath of existence, as a free independent state. It is the Heart of the Body-politic, through which constitutional Life circulates freely and vigorously, giving strength, exertion, and activity, to every member. When it is obstructed partially, or totally destroyed, disease, or inevitable death, ensues. All nations, in proportion as they enjoy a **FREE PRESS**, enjoy the inestimable blessings of personal liberty, and proprietary possession. Some

have it perfect and unlimited ; for instance, BRITAIN, and BRITISH AMERICA : Britain and America are, therefore, perfectly and without limitation, a free people. Some in a qualified and discretionary degree, like France, whose subjects accordingly taste the exquisite enjoyments of Freedom, just as the ruling powers are disposed, from a well-conditioned, though ever-varying sense of right and justice, to fix the precise point of discretion and qualification. Others, again, in the most absolute terms of despotic prohibition, of which the Pontifical States are our example : Rome and Italy, of course, are, at this present time, in the most deplorable state of stupified ignorance, and brow-fallen subjection ; a state infinitely worse than if they had not existed as a people at all.

From this short representation it is plain, that no people now upon earth
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are possessed of Freedom, in any sense worthy of men and Christians, but BRITONS ; in which term I would comprehend Great Britain and Ireland, America, and all their widely-spread dependencies, now (alas !) in a violent state of being torn and rent asunder, by the councils and machinations of wicked men!—

Wonderful and dishonourable tale ; that nine parts of ten of our habitable globe, should have passively and patiently worn away more than *fifty centuries*, only to become the very reverse of what God, the Creator, intended man to be ! The contemplation of this subject plunges the human mind into a fathomless reverie, from which it never emerges, without that irresistible influx of strong sensibilities, the effect of which is always pain and debasement, beyond the power of words. Especially is the reflective soul wounded in its feelings, when it is considered, that

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so enormous a disproportion of our species all along suffered themselves to be sunk into so wretched a state, for the sake of a *few individuals*; (I mean kings) who in the grasp of the people, had the people retained any portion of the Divinity among them, would have been no more than the crush of a midge under an elephant's foot.—A sort of two-fold consideration tends to deepen and inveterate this wound.

Men, for being kings, far less to become tyrants, had no natural right whatever; no right, in short, exclusive of the free election of the people, but what the barbarian, the ruffian, the robber, and the murderer, may assume. This matter is set in a clear uncontrovertible light, in consequence of knowing the will and appointment of Heaven. The will and appointment of Heaven, we, that are Christians,

tians, and, what is more, Protestants, with the New Testament in our hands, know, or ought to know, perfectly. Let it be premised, that what latterly has been found the moral intentions of God, respecting the grand line of conduct among nations and individuals, was always the moral intentions of God, though not promulgated. Neither is the justice of God impeachable here, for not promulgating them sooner by express Revelation; because the universal or endemic disease did not sooner arrive at its crisis to be cured; and because, in reality, such a promulgation actually took place at the creation of man; under the vigorous effect of which, it is well known, that for many ages after our race had been created, the Patriarchal state of equality, or the shepherd erratic state, subsisted and flourished, without any subordination, but what spontaneously, and in the course of things,

things, resulted from parental seniority, venerable gravity, piety, wisdom and experience.

True, matters altered for the worse very soon ; bad dispositions discovered themselves ; bad habits were contracted ; envy, avarice, jealousy, and ambition, seized on the human mind, as a sort of prey ; virtuous unsuspicious equality ceased, and Government, with its appending evils, and proneness to degenerate, began. The first promulgated intentions of Heaven were, consequently, superceded, declining gradually, till, at length, they became totally forgotten, and absorbed in the abandoned vices and idolatry of the Heathen world.—But this brings not the Moral Law, first imprinted on the heart of man, into dispute ; for the same objection lies against Revelation itself, which, in its spirit and legislative government of
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the Christian world, has been as much abused, corrupted, neglected, and set aside as the Primary Law of Nature, the creational standard of conduct, ever was by the Heathen world.*—Having, I hope, pretty clearly, though briefly, evinced this point, the will and appointment of Heaven, with regard to the present circumstances of nations, remains to be ascertained.

In times posterior to the Great Christian Law-giver, our proof must be taken from the Scriptures undoubtedly. CHRIST'S little kingdom, at first, consisted of himself and his twelve Apostles. Dictating in this kingdom, which will one day be supreme over all, this is his explicit com-

* Who are in fault, in this most shameful business, the teachers or the taught, men with or without bands, this is no place to enquire.

mand, as conveying the will and appointment of Heaven throughout all generations. *The princes of the Gentiles* (Heathens, Pagans) *exercise dominion over them, and they that are great, exercise authority upon them: but it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.* Now, the point of discussion here is, whether this remarkable precept, so clearly expressed, be a general or partial one; that is, comprehensive of Kings, Rulers, and Governors, or barely restricted to individuals, in obscure, social life. Or to give it another face. Whether Emperors and Kings are not as strictly and minutely bound down to the performance of all the Christian virtues, of which mercy, placability, forbearance, justice, equity, truth, self-denial, and universal benevolence, are the principal,

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as the meanest of those that are stiled their subjects. Who dare affirm they are are not? I dare affirm, however novel and unpopular the affirmation, they are. To admit the contrary, involves conclusions, ruinous to the peace, and happiness of society. If Kings and Magistrates are not included in the Christian code of precepts, or have an indemnification, peculiar to their order, for transgressing them, then are tyranny and oppression, the ravages of countries, and devastations of kingdoms, carried forward, and needs must be carried forward through all future ages, under the auspices and protection of Heaven. An Alexander, a Nero, a Charles XII, a Lewis XIV, not to mention any more of the enthroned butchers and plunderers of the world, would have felt themselves perfectly beatified in the thought.

But the argument need not be extended. God knows no artificial, complex bodies : such bodies can have no identity, or responsibility, in the aggregate, in another world. A king will be judged, not as a king, but as a man ! His kingly acts were not appointed by God, but his acts as a man, are, on the contrary, the express appointment of God, and are indispensable. State necessity, the *arcana imperii*, or the municipal law of nations, will not bring kings off, any more than an urgent train of circumstances, into the embarrassment of which he has voluntarily brought himself, will excuse an individual guilty of violence, robbery, or blood. The law of nations, and the secrets and policy of states, are the institutions of mere men acting as their own law-givers, without precept or injunction from Heaven ; therefore, can avail nothing as a justification in instances
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where a superior law has been broken
and trodden under foot.

This is clearly the state of things on the great Christian scale of required duty; so that, modern kings have but one alternative, in the midst of their astonishing greatness, either to deny they are Christians, throw off the appellative altogether, or confess that the same simple, unaffected morality, in all cases whatsoever, is as much required from them, and those they depute in authority under them, as from the very lowest of the people, those they proudly call their subjects and vassals. Nor can a king, with any prospect of being heard, retire to his closet to ask God forgiveness for his sins, if he has, by the medium of his fleets and armies, shed the blood of one man, or taken his property from him, wrongfully; not to mention the blood of thousands, perhaps, lying

ing at his door, whose ghosts are now soliciting restitution from, and vengeance upon him, in the invisible world.

Very true, he cannot be called to account in this life, except by another king, haply as flagitious and bloody-minded, as himself; while in the mean time, he is surrounded and kept in countenance by his generals and soldiers, his courtiers and clergy. What then? These with himself shall, in the natural course of things, be reduced to that dust they now tread upon, as insignificant in memory, as the monarchs and ministers of state before the flood,

A higher authority than any kings has said, *Requite not evil, but rather return good for evil.* This is addressed to sovereigns, as well as to beggars. Nor have I the smallest doubt, that should a king's
duty

duty as a man, and a Christian, essentially interfere with his duty as a king, or an elected head of a community, that he should unquestionably prefer the first to the last. And did it even come to that grand declaratory point, by which he must either cease to be king, or wound his own conscience by disobeying God, however importunate the fastidious and self-created exigencies of a court might be, that should impel him to act differently, he ought, undoubtedly, to resign his sceptre and his crown, for the same reason that a minister under him ought to give up his commission, and emoluments annexed, when any thing has been officially enjoined him inconsistent with his honour, virtue and integrity.—I believe, not one instance of the former has occurred in the annals of our world, and of the latter, comparatively, very few. But the paucity, in either case, establishes no precedent.

cedent. The superior exertions of distinguished greatness, and distinguished heroic excellence, though seldom, very seldom occurring, to ennoble our nature, are, notwithstanding, still within the requisitions of Christianity.

The destruction of Freedom, in so many Christian kingdoms (I may say in all, except Great Britain) the natural birth-right of men, and in the defence of which taking the life of another is no crime, by princes and kings, is an accumulation of guilt upon *their head*, which they may support for a definitive time, by means of adventitious aids, their courtiers and clergy, but which must assuredly overwhelm them, when they shall stand naked spirits in another world. The extinction of Freedom is the extinction of every noble, manly, generous virtue, as well as Christian grace. All tyrants, therefore,

therefore, have this additional guilt lying heavy on their souls, however insensible they are of it. To deface the image of God in millions, and from day to day prevent them from recovering it, is an enormity of the first magnitude, but it wants a name. Multitudes of nefarious, execrable deeds, in the primary movements of every state, according as it is more or less tyrannical, have no appropriate terms in our dictionaries. They are too black and horrid, and too industriously hid behind Tartarian veils from the inspection of the people, to be admitted into the language of humanity. But of all the deeds of darkness, of insolent outrage on the privileges of mankind, to destroy *the Liberty of the Press*, should seem the most diabolical. It is laying an embargo on the human mind; saying to its divine faculties, *hither shall ye come, and no farther*. The same spirit,

were it competent to the act, would lay an embargo on the sun, and say to the heavenly brightener of our habitations, hitherto shalt thou come, proud luminary, and here shall thy refulgent beams be staid. Nay, the very air we breathe, in sweet and pure diffusion, could the same spirit stop or confine its circulation, it malignantly would.

The fact, however, is this. What is just, right, and fit, in England, is just, right and fit, in France, Germany, Turkey, and in all the kingdoms of the earth. Nations may be called great individuals under the eye of Nature's sovereign Lord, subject to eternal laws superior to themselves, which they may not, on any pretence whatsoever, relax, accommodate, or explain away, to serve their own purposes or local circumstances. Were such a pre-eminent and immutable law supposed not
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to exist, let the intelligent reader mark the consequences. Every nation must be considered as absolutely supreme and infallible in itself, not with reference to man only, but with reference to God, the Creator of man. This absurdity is too mighty to be passed over. Another preposterous conclusion likewise follows. The customs, peculiarities, prejudices, soil and climate, of different countries, would be ever varying the religion and virtue of each place; so that men should have as many independent standards of virtue and religion, as there are independent states; whereby truth and moral rectitude should become a mere political engine, or ministerial manœuvre of the state. Such unavoidable conclusions need only be mentioned, with the keenest effect of ridicule, to make the most irresistible impression.

These blessed deductions, however, which ought to afford such comfort, and glorious triumph, to every British bosom, would amply soothe the writer's trouble, had he taken more pains to expose them. Need he mention it? Every grateful Briton will at the instant anticipate it in his thoughts. It is this; that wherever despotism, dark, jealous, sullen despotism, subsist now in Europe, *THERE the Liberty of the Press* has been previously destroyed, and absolutely annihilated. A stigma of ineffable infamy on all tyrants, had they time to be struck with it, from the indulgence of their vices and sensualities. They can only make men slaves by keeping them in an impenetrable ignorance, little superior to instinctive tameness, and brutal stupidity. So soon as men ascend a degree above beasts of burden, and brutes that feed on grass, in happy light and knowledge, they begin to be conscious
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of self-dignity ; feel the long smothered fire of Heaven, the incitements of immortality stir in their bosoms ; look upon their tyrant oppressors and tax-masters, with indignant eye ; and drag them to instant account, as delinquents of the most capital atrociousness, though pavilioned in all the terror and awfulness of majesty.

Foreseeing what monsters kings, as free agents, would eventually turn out, in the progress of time, is it any wonder that God repeatedly refused a king to *his own people*, the Jews ; and that when he was importuned by Samuel to grant them one, the gift was attended with his highest *displeasure*, and with the denunciation of endless woes and miseries that must unavoidably accompany it ? The language of Heaven is so strong, pointed, and irresistible, that the writer, in self-

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vindication,

vindication, cannot but transcribe it here.

Now therefore (says God to Samuel) *hearken unto their voice* (the voice of the people) *howbeit, protest solemnly unto them the manner of the king that shall rule over them.* THIS SHALL BE THE MANNER OF THE KING THAT SHALL RULE OVER THEM.—*He will take your sons and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariots : and he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties ; and will set them to till his ground, and to reap his harvests, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots : and he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers : and he will take your fields, and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants : and he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers*
and

and to his servants : and he will take the tenth of your men servants, and your maid servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work : and he will take the tenth of your sheep, and ye shall be his servants ; AND YE SHALL CRY OUT IN THAT DAY, BECAUSE OF THE KING WHICH YE SHALL HAVE CHOSEN, AND THE LORD WILL NOT HEAR YOU IN THAT DAY.—

Modern monarchy and tyranny, wherever they are associated, are here depicted to the life ; indeed, so perfectly exact and literal, that no mortal can mistake the prophetic description and accomplishment. Perhaps, not one in a thousand has attended to this passage, significant and striking as it is, and coming from God himself : for, it cannot but be remarked, *on account* of the multitudes of Clergymen among us, that take upon them

them the utterance of Inspiration, to save mankind the trouble, (or, as if inspiration required to be re-inspired) that a thousand remarkable and important portions of the Word of God are as little known among us, and as little attended to, as if they were really passages of the Turkish Alcoran, or from laws of the Hindostan Brachmans.—This reproachful ignorance it is, that renders us such willing and submissive slaves to corruption and vice, to arbitrary kings, insolent statesmen, and no less insolent priests.

Britons, upon the whole, cannot but see the indissoluble connection, far beyond that of kings and subjects, or even the ties of flesh and blood, between *light*, *knowledge*, and the preservation of *freedom*; and that the only means, less than a miracle, of perpetuating light and knowledge

ledge, and diffusing them equally around, is most religiously to preserve *the Liberty of the Press*, from the impious check of kings, and the contaminating breath of the satraps of kings.

The Liberty of the Press brought about the Reformation: *the same Liberty of the Press* effected the thrice glorious Revolution: and the transcendent and unspeakable blessings of both can alone be preserved, and transmitted to a grateful posterity, by *the liberty of the press*. With respect to every advocate for restrictions on a *free press*, he need only be asked, in plain and honest language, would you be a *papist*? Would you be a *slave*? A wretch degraded from your rank in creation, to kiss the Pope's toe? or a wretch no less degraded, to drink, without trial, the tyrant's poisoned draught, or stoop to the bowstring of a mute?—

There is no medium : *the press* must be totally free, or not at all. Whenever its freedom comes to be defined or circumscribed, we must forthwith apply to my Lord Chamberlain to know if God has permitted us to *feel* or not, to *think* or not, and to *express* our thoughts and feelings. Britons will never condescend to this, till they become Italian monks, or despicable Muffelmen. The noted Ovidian saying, *in medio tutissimus ibis*, is here a mean prosaical falsehood, and holds a falchion to the throat of British Liberty, and British Independence.

The half-conditioned friends of our constitution, those sagacious politicians that would contemplate our Liberties and Properties with shameful partiality, will be ready to exclaim here, What ! is not the Press become the vehicle of scandal, slander and defamation ? is any thing sacred
from

from its attempts, Kings, Lords, Commons, or Clergy?—All this is acknowledged, and that scandal, slander, and defamation, are evils that require speedy discountenance and suppression. What then? these, and other evils inseparable from a *free press*, if injurious to private character or property, are all actionable at common law, and cognizable by a jury of peers. Here then is an instant remedy for the disease: but would you destroy the human body, that is, take away a man's life, because that body is liable to infection and malady? The sun has been, and will be, the *wicked* cause direct of many formidable evils; would you deprive us of the sun? The earth is often *guilty* of volcanos and earthquakes; would you dispossess us of the earth we stand upon? Even the air around us, times without number, has been highly *culpable*, in affording a menstruum and

vehicle to plague and pestilence, by which millions of our species have been cut off; would you rob us of the air, the pure, salubrious, life-sustaining air? And, to have done with particulars, many kings of England have been tyrants, persecutors, and ruffians, not behind the most savage in oppression and cruelty: would you disinherit England of kings, *the anointed of the Lord, the breath of our nostrils*; and thus leave the Lords and Commons to fight it out, like the dogs in the fable?

Perhaps no degree of levity becomes the writer on so solemn an occasion: he asks the reader's pardon for the indecorum.—Indeed, our times, and the present critical situation of public affairs, would seem objects that cannot be too seriously contemplated, by the true lover of his country, the good Protestant, and the vir-

tuous man. The whole force of the
 empire exerted, and *more* than its own
 force, to subdue *three millions* of people
 placed by providence on an immense con-
 tinent, three thousand miles off, who ori-
 ginally offended respecting only the *mode*,
 not the *matter* of taxation, is an unparal-
 leled, awful period in English history, and
 peculiarly affecting, as the event is abso-
 lutely contingent and precarious, hid deep
 in the bosom of futurity. The probabi-
 lity of success would indeed seem much
 against the *mother* country rising against
 her children; the *old* and *infirm*, against
 the *young* and *vigorous*, the *voluptuous* and
debauched, against the *virtuous* and *tem-*
perate. The reflecting brow, and pensive
 countenance, should be characteristic of
 Britons at present, however unaccompani-
 ed by the example of our rulers, who,
 mean time, are hying to farces, panto-
 mimes and masquerades. Only a tyrant,
 a glutton,

a glutton, and a savage, play'd on his fiddle, when Rome was in flames.

Papists have ceased to persecute and massacre Protestants, stung at last with compunction and remorse. Protestants in the full possession of this choice and long wished-for blessing, fall out among themselves, snatch up the weapons which papists have laid down, and destroy and murder one another. Let us hear no more of Popish cruelty, and Popish devastations.—Add to this. A whole bench of *Protestant bishops*, in the senate, either promoted or abetted this horrid, this ruinous, this accursed war, except one or two divine spirits, divine in spite of their mitres: while the whole *representative body* of the clergy petitioned the king (suspecting him to be naturally prone to justice and mercy) to unsheath the sword of slaughter, and plunge it in the bosoms of
brethren,

brethren, citizens and countrymen. The scene is of a piece, criminally aggravated, portentous, unprecedented, black and deformed throughout. It is a national call upon GOD to behold a spectacle he hates and abhors; one set of human beings butchering and destroying another. For what? That the vanquished may adorn the triumphal entrance of Victory, dragg'd at her chariot wheels, or led through the streets in chains before her saturated eye. For what? To satiate the longings of revenge, the cravings of corrupt avarice, the unsufferable pride of power, and the unextinguishable thirst of Empire, and of human blood, in the breast of kings and courtiers.

In the foregoing strictures on kings, and any that may afterwards occur, the writer would not be understood to involve the Monarch on the throne. Whether
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the eventual and yet unknown operation of those vast armaments now fitted and gone out from Great Britain, shall discover that his servants have acted wisely and faithfully towards *him*, or grossly abused *his* confidence, God only knows, and a messenger from God can only tell. The world thinks differently on this vast and interesting subject. The writer's sentiments may be collected from this Preface, and what follows. Whatever they may be termed, he cannot suppress them, without wounding his convictions, and laying an embargo on his mind; for doing which, as a Freeman, and a Protestant Kings or ministers of state might reward him, were he of consequence enough, but could not recompense him.

The diseases of a state, like many of those that attack the human constitution, are almost always chronical, that is, run through

through an indeterminate period, not within the political physician's calculation, before they end fatally, nevertheless, are as sure in their progress, as they are slow. While such numbers are daily permitted, in the news-papers, even by *patent royal*, to deliver their thoughts of disorders incident to our species, on which immediately depend the lives of his Majesty's liege subjects, and to prescribe their nostrums accordingly; surely, individuals may, with the utmost license, step forward on the theatre of public notice, to remark on the consumptive habit and decline of the *body politic*, on which depend the liberty and property of his Majesty's subjects, and propose, without fee or reward, that regimen, and those palliatives, which have been found most useful to such a constitution: the chief of which would seem to be a perfect conquest of the *royal* passions—a total relinquishment

of extraordinary *royal* cares and wordly acquisitions—peace and tranquillity of the *royal* mind, with regard to the grand vicissitudes of the world, under the direction of Providence, and superior to the councils of Kings.

Authors writing on such a subject, have a plea in their favour, beyond medical speculatists, and all patentee doctors; a plea really amounting to *self-preservation*, since writing on the diseases of the body politic, they undoubtedly write on their *own diseases*, being members of the body politic, which every man has a right to do, even independent of *royal patent*, as a denizen of a free state. The matter rests here; and here would rest the writer's apology for the boldness and unreservedness of his remarks; seeing that the same sacred right which placed GEORGE III, and continues him, on the throne of
England,

England, in preference of an arbitrary, Roman catholic prince, privileges the *present*, and *every* writer of the British Empire, to deliver his opinions freely, of public measures, and public exigencies. Nor can this Preface be concluded in a more suitable manner, than by fervently wishing GEORGE III, the appointed and recognized first magistrate of these realms, far more than the tumultuous and crowded reflections of fluctuating empire,—wishing him the present and the future consolations of a just and honest man, the only character GOD attends to, connected with his being the tender-hearted and affectionate father of his people, independent of all selfishness and jealousy about the defence or extension of *mere personal prerogative*, hitherto undefined, and to all eternity undefinable, except by the people.—To have done,

The present is an adventurous and unceremonious production ; but, I hope, calculated to give Britons an *idea* and *feeling* of liberty, which, as it appears to the writer, very few of them have had before, at least, if they really have it, they *act*, our representatives in Parliament particularly, the delegates of the people, as if they had it not, which is worse than incorrigible insensibility. Liberty, civil and religious, is the sum of human good, and the present object of every man's ambition, who has not been previously stupified, deprived of principle, manhood, virtue, dignity and spirit, by the deadening squeeze of *Corruption's* torpedinous hand. — We seem to have lost all duty to God, our *Maker, Governor, and Judge*, all consideration of his Most Excellent Majesty, in our preposterous, shameful, impious *idolatry* of Kings, and the vicegerents of Kings : expending on the dust and rags
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of mortality, called *royal* and *imperial*, those high epithets, those superlatively august titles (Most Dread Sovereign, Most Sacred Majesty, Most Excellent Majesty, &c. &c.) which alone belong to the Great God of Heaven, and the Lord of universal nature. On this account, though little attended to, added to our vicious morals, and the universal profligacy of our manners, while we are mocking God in our Cathedrals, Churches, and Chapels, with the conceit, mummary and flippery of worship, through the polluted marks of ambitious priests, some awful revolutionary punishment, if not speedily warded off, certainly awaits our nation.

CHAPTER

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CHAPTER I.

ARGUMENT:

Parliaments cannot be supreme in all Cases whatsoever, without being infallible also.

NOTWITHSTANDING what has been written by the inquisitive, the ingenious, and the learned, on American affairs, and that most people think the subject exhausted, it appears to me (I have no vanity on the occasion) that there are *two considerations* hitherto unnoticed, that tend to throw a decisive air on the whole: that is, if we take our rule of judgment from first principles, original rights, and general rectitude, confirmed

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and

and illustrated by that excellent morality delivered to us in Revelation, and not from the narrow maxims of a particular kingdom, even with admired and idolized *patriotism* on our side, which must always give place to humanity, and reverence for Heaven. Nor do I think it would reflect any discredit on the greatest monarch, or greatest statesman, to be instructed in his duty from Heaven, less than the meanest private individual: but surely it realizes a disgrace on modern times, not to be gilded over or concealed, that the grand movements of government are now conducted on the same confined, partial, mercenary, corrupt, unjust scale, that was the standard of Pagan times and Heathenish manners; nay, I will be bold to affirm, on a worse scale in many particulars. Our European kings are now called Christians, and many of them have pompous Christian epithets appended

appended to their armorial titles. Is there any idea annexed to the term Christian? or is it a mere convenient designation of popular honour to flourish at a market cross, in the mouth of an herald, or king at arms? Our MOST CHRISTIAN KINGS are as little Christian, except in the rare-show of public worship, bordering upon idolatry and romance, imposed upon them by fellow mortals, as any that reigned a thousand years before Christ. From such premises we must not draw our conclusions; from such models we must not finish our copies. There is a standard beyond the etiquette of a court, the records of Parliament, or the secreted schedules of a Cabinet Council, that will always determine the true philosophical politician. By this standard, the standard of humanity, enforced by Christian ethics, the following pages must be judged, as, indeed,

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deed, it is confessed, they cannot abide any other. I have no object but the establishment and elucidation of truth, as leaning on primary axioms, not on mere territorial authority, and Machiavelian usage. I have no lucrative expectations from any person in power, nor would I accept of wages from any government upon earth, in the light of an hireling writer. I am in a professionary situation to *live*. What can a monarch or a prime minister say more? they have their reward for services performed, or apprehended to be performed, so have I. Let my judges be the species at large; and let me alone have an appeal to Heaven.

While something more tremendously definitive than speculation is now carrying on between the principals in a grand contest, the sons of leisure and literature
may

may be indulged in the exercise of the pen; unsupported and unsanctified by which, the sword, even supposing a Cæsar, or an Alexander to wield it, had better have reposed in its scabbard, covered with rust, and edgeless from disuse. The longest and strongest sword may precipitate all things in this world. But what is this world in comparison with existence to come? No more than a hillock of ants in the front of a sultan's palace, destroying one another, did ants destroy one another like men. The sword forms no defence in a future world, nor is it admitted as evidence. Even upon earth a man with a sword in his hand would not be suffered to approach a bar of justice. No! he must there appear disarmed, if any person can be said to be disarmed, who trusts his cause to judicial trial, on the manly principles of right reason, and substantial argument. But not to lose sight

of the two considerations we mean to prove: let them be mentioned.—They are these,

First, Parliaments cannot be supreme in all cases whatsoever, without being infallible also. Secondly, Colonies, when they find themselves able, that is, *politically come of age*, may, in consequence of an unanimity, nay, a majority of voices, throw off subjection to the parent state: a power derived from God, and authorized by the necessity of things. To suppose the negative of either of these, would be to suppose contradictions admissible.—Of these in their order.

Till it is impossible for Parliaments to err, to be tyrannical, to be cruel and unjust, the absolute supremacy of Parliament is *vox et preterea nihil*. A word indeed of sonorous energy in the mouth
of

of him whose highest ambition looks only to a place, or who wishes to preserve the place he has already got. But witnesses of this kind are to be accounted partial and suborned.—Since then it is possible for Parliaments to err, (all historical evidence proves it) it follows of course, that a power to detect that error exists somewhere in the the aggregate body. Otherwise one error, how fatal soever esteemed, might beget another, and yet another, until the constitution should actually fall by the hands of its own guardians and protectors. But who is to judge of the emergency? The party aggrieved doubtless. Supposing, however, *that* party inconsiderable, What is to be done? Why it must submit merely from necessity, and the duty of self-preservation: but with a lasting consciousness of having been deeply injured, connected with the consolation of a future appeal,

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where arbitrary inforcement, and superior numbers, avail nothing, unless it be to give aggravation to offence, and crimson to guilt. Farther, admitting the party aggrieved nearly on a par with the high-handed aggressor; in such a case, all the laws of God and man authorize a spirit of defence, resistance, repulse, and reprisal. If unsuccessful in the attempt, the want of success by no means tends to infer delinquency, rather indeed the contrary in most cases, as people bent on lawless designs, and unworthily disposed, generally carry by numbers and dragooning violence, what they are well aware the justice and integrity of their cause could never effect.

This latent unrepresible spirit, pervading the several parts of a mighty empire, is, in truth, its basis and security. For did not the governing powers decree and
 I act,

act, under the intimidation and eventual interference of a *greater power in diffuso*, every state would become despotic, and every Prince a tyrant. The very freedom of a state is a standing recognition, a tacit acknowledgment of a mightier power, than the governing and legislative, existing in the body of the people. In this sense, the common adage—*vox populi, vox Dei*—has both significance and propriety.

According to this representation, it is plain, that only despotic governments can in any appropriate sense, be called supreme or infallible, that is to say, irreprehensible and uncontrollable by any cotemporary power upon earth; for could their legislation be reprehended and controuled, they should not any longer be despotic, but free.—To draw matters to a point.

Great

Great Britain is a free popular state. This is acknowledged on all hands, and remains an instance of her consummate wisdom, persevering virtue and heroism, truly respectable. Her freedom and popularity then, amidst surrounding arbitrary nations, serve as an irrefragable proof, that her legislation may be disputed, and her executive powers resisted, in many possible cases. When they happen, every member of the empire (not to mention great provincial divisions of it) has an undoubted right to judge for himself. If inadequate to the momentous risque of resistance, to do himself justice, after every intermediate step has been taken in vain, he has a clear right to annihilate his connections with such a state, and commence a freeman in any latitude, or upon any shore, more kindly to his prospects, and more congenial with his sentiments. God, the supreme King and Governor

vernor of all nations, to whom monarchs are as subject as slaves, invests him with this paramount privilege, from the same principle of benignity and fitness that he has planted the strong sense of self-preservation in his breast, to avoid the tyger and the lion, when he finds himself unable to subdue either.—To throw one's self in the way of a lion or a tyger, when a method of escape presents itself, would not be gallantry or spirit, but fool-hardiness.

It is granted, people may often imagine themselves aggrieved with little or no reason, and that it is an heinous offence to disturb the peace and tranquillity of a state : but then, the possibility of the reverse becoming a necessitous duty, lays a foundation of contingent resistance, even in the most correct and guarded theory. I shall beg leave to give an exam-

ple in point. Suppose Parliament should conceive the idea, and put it under operation, of depriving a particular county of its two representatives, yet nevertheless continue to levy taxes and all public burdens upon its inhabitants: would not such a country have sufficient cause to think itself most injuriously treated, and consequently authorized to run through all the mediums of redress, even undismay'd by the last resort, insurgency against its oppressors, though no less high in official department, than in the flagitiousness of offence? And if unable, with any probable views of success, to carry matters in this way, would not the inhabitants of such a county merit the highest eulogiums due to spirit and magnanimity, did they nobly take the resolution of removing their effects, and emigrating beyond seas, to a more hospitable and righteous clime,

clime, the seat of common right and common justice ?

GOD, in the first instance, is the giver, and the great protector of property ; to whom there lies an appeal from all mankind, how great soever ; when it is unjustly and violently invaded, and to whom we must be circumstantially accountable for its use and abuse, its embezzlement and preservation ; as property, aptly secured, and judiciously laid out, is effective of excellent ends and purposes in this world. Persons that have an important trust or deposit in their hands, if from indolence, carelessness, want of spirit, or want of fortitude, they suffer it to fall a prey to wicked men, private pilferers, or open robbers, however at first these wicked men may have varnished over their intentions with plausibility, such persons are betrayers of their trust,

unworthy of generous confidence, and chargeable with the worst of crimes at the bar of justice and equity. All our possessions we hold from God in trust : it cannot be ours absolutely and indefinitely, because that same power whose gift or transfer the possession is, disposes likewise of the possessor's life, either sooner or later : therefore, to suffer property to be lessened or taken away, without our concurrence, is disloyalty and unfaithfulness to God. Duty to kings (magistrates or agents of *our own* selection and recognition) cannot set *these* aside.

Something of the same nature with the foregoing was actually seen to happen, not long ago, in Ireland, respecting not a county alone, but a whole province.*

* Ulster.

The Dissenters, making by far the most considerable body in that province, without being either represented, or having personal votes in vestries, were made subject to be taxed, by act of parliament, for the repairs and ornaments of churches (places of worship against their consciences) at the discretion of people too much disposed to hold them in durance and contempt. It is true, an act so arbitrary, ungenerous, and unmanly, was no proof of the spirit of the times. It originated with a single person, a great ecclesiastic (ecclesiastics have always been at the bottom of slavery and oppression) and was suffered to pass somewhat unaccountably, through the negligence of some, and the supine inattention of others, in which circumstances most dark and wicked schemes are pushed into form.

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The Dissenters to a man were irritated and alarmed, being conscious of no defaulture. They had several meetings and consultations, touching the necessity of declaring their united sentiments on so critical an occasion, and at length unanimously agreed to petition Parliament. They did so, from their respective parish districts, in a decent, dispassionate, but able manner. The prayer of their petitions was heard by a sensible, liberal-minded majority in the House of Commons; the obnoxious act repealed, and peace and security restored to a vast body of opulent, well-affected people; who, otherwise might have been precipitated into that species of ill humour and discontent, which every wise government will appease and soothe in the first instance, where a useful and numerous set of men are concerned.

Indeed

Indeed it cannot but be observed here, that the procedure of the governing powers, with reference to the Vestry Act, contradicted their general line of conduct in American affairs. The Vestry Act, and the right of internally taxing the Colonies, proceeded on the same principle. The ostensible cause of the one, was the delinquency of a riotous mob in the town of Boston ; of the other, a refractory disposition shewn by a few dissenting congregations, with regard to the repair of churches. In both cases, how inadequate the *cause* to the *effect* ! how disproportionate the *punishment* to the *offence* !—When the *Hearts of Steel** committed

* A body of insurgents so called, in the Northern parts of Ireland, who committed great excesses and disturbances, in order to set themselves right from the alleged oppression of landlords, and exactions of tythe farmers. They were soon reduced to order and peaceable behaviour, by the spirited and prudent exertions of the ruling powers, without any mischief or bloodshed ensuing.

such disturbances in two or three Northern counties, had Government sent fleets and armies to punish Ireland, by the demolition of her towns, and the destruction of her inhabitants, what brass-complexioned courtier would have held up his face to justify the deed? The instances are exactly parallel. I cannot possibly look upon them in any other light. For the same reason that America is *now* surrounded with predatory fleets and invasive armies, and the taxation laws against the Dissenters was enacted, the trade of Ireland should now be destroyed, her maritime towns thrown into conflagration, and her children slaughtered by an un pitying soldiery, on account of the acts of insurgen-
cy and violence committed by the *Steel-Boys*.

Politicians may refine away the familiarity, as politicians have before now refined

fined away private judgment and the liberty of the subject, into indefeasible right, non-resistance, and church authority: but all such refinements are only those of Satan to establish his kingdom upon earth. On the ground of general humanity, the law of nations, jurisprudential rectitude, and political integrity, subject to a test superior to them all, the Divine Law, (for sure we call ourselves Christians) I invite any one to prove that the above cited cases are not perfectly in point, and his arguments shall have fair play. Should such a person object to the invitation, being anonymous, let him make his best efforts on the subject, and the writer hereof promises, to step forward, in reply, with his name at full length to his work; not envying him the advantage of all that the learned doctors, Johnson and Shebbeare, have declaimed on the same side with himself.

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It is true, the Americans stand condemned as *Rebels* in the Parliament records, and in the K—'s speeches; but with the most dutiful respect for the S—, and veneration for the Council of the nation, I do aver it, that no K— or Parliament upon earth has authority to fix the meaning of language for me, or alter the nature of things, by a particular arbitrary use of terms. Many great and good men about the K—, and in parliament, reprobated the term, and protested against the application of it. Are no men honest but such as are paid for being dishonest; I mean, those in lucrative places, and on the pension list, not to mention the unmarshalled tribe standing on the tip-toe of expectation?—I may take *my* license of speech, and] miscall *those* rebels and traitors to the then crowned and sceptred monarch, that brought WILLIAM into England, and afterwards set him upon the throne;

throne; in consequence of which, GEORGE now inhabits a royal palace, and reigns over a mighty (would to God they were a united) people. Will their lordships, B—, N—, M—, S—, G—, H—, &c. &c. give me credit for *my* term? if not, why should I, a free member of the British empire, though not in any place at court, give them credit for *theirs*? Language is common to the species, and cannot be monopolized, or unalterably fixt, till our legs and necks shall be first fitted to the yoke and the fetters. In such a case language would be of no use to us, more than to the ox or ass; for were we to upbraid our tyrants, it would only be to have our tongues cut out, left in the aggrivement and indignation of our spirits, we should spit upon them next.—This matter may require a farther discussion.

What government, led at the discretion of lords North, Mansfield, and their associates, now call rebellion, should be stiled, by the same legislative authority, directed by a Chatham or a Camden, a necessary laudable spirit of resistance; that identical spirit which seated GEORGE III. on the throne of the British empire, and excluded for ever the lineal heir of these realms. Are the former noble lords endowed with infallibility, in their interpretation of the words, beyond the latter? Who that thinks or reads beyond a Primer, other than a pensioner, or the hungry expectant of a pension, will take upon him to assert this? it will be replied by our legal vociferators of rebellion, that the latter noble lords are *out* of place, and would stretch every nerve to get *in*: hence their abhorrence of the term. Even allowing this, (which I would never allow but for argument sake) still it amounts to
a pre-

a presumption only; a bare begging of the question. The now vernacular usage of speech, crying out rebellion, within the environs of St. James's, rests upon the proof of the same arbitrary, time-serving kind, *actually positive*. The ministerial exclaimers have all, in substantial possession, places, pensions, douceurs, gratuities, almost beyond arithmetic: the above, therefore, is one of these unfortunate proofs that have two edges, the one obtuse and harmless, the other keen and cutting. Those assailants that use it, fondly imagining they are doing wondrous execution, and dealing wounds and death around them, never advert to the circumstance of their having mistaken the side, deeply wounding and mangling themselves, without once piercing the skin of those they assail.—My lords Chatham and Camden positively will not call the Americans rebels, because they

want

want places at court : my lords North and Mansfield reiterate the odious appellation, and paste it in capitals on the back of the Americans, because they *have* places : *ergo*, a negative must take place of an affirmative, or else the former Right Hon. Peers have *indeed* adhered to the chasteness, purity, dignity, and manliness of language.

The court and its dependants using the abominable terms *rebels, traitors*, in doubtful cases, and by no means universally acknowledged, is the same thing as two persons in single combat, the one calling the other a rascal or a scoundrel ? What lord in administration, so critically stationed, would apply to his antagonist such opprobrious epithets ? Should any lord act so unlike himself, before he discharged his pistol, or made his lounge, he would deserve to be treated with silent but manly contempt, or to be horsewhipt by his adversary's coachman,

man, rather than be indulged with the honourable event of a duel.

It may be argued, that the constitution must be preserved at any rate, whatever the expence of blood and treasure its preservation may require, if we would exist as a nation or people at all. Agreed : but the true way of preserving the constitution, is to know precisely the diseases it is liable to, and, when they happen, to apply the proper remedies ; otherwise political death must ensue of course, as natural death, when the human body labour under a disorder for which there is no cure. Moreover, the Americans are the people, at present, that are preserving the constitution, by defending *the principle* on which it is founded, the right of assent and consent in taxation, either personal or substitutional ; without which, no state can subsist free, but soon sink into abject slavery,

ry, even through the medium of its own
 taxational largesses. *Supremacy of Par-*
liament on one hand, and *unconditional*
submission on the other, are the dogmas
 and language of Turks, not of Britons.
 God himself requires not unconditional
 submission from his creatures, but sub-
 mission on the clearest moral evidence and
 internal conviction. G— III, and his
 high-priests, N--h, M—s—d, G--m--ne,
 we suppose, are beings of superior order
 to their MAKER.

In short, it would not be our country,
 or the general interests of the species we
 should assist, by taking our construction
 of words from the noble lords, North and
 Mansfield, or even their erudite lexico-
 graphical critic, Dr. *Johnson*, in prefe-
 rence of the still nobler lords, Chatham
 and Camden ; but the prime minister, for
 the time being, and his satillitary circle.

Had

Had lord Chatham or lord Camden directed the helm of affairs for some time past, the inglorious and destructive emergency which now serves as an apology for official despotism and ministerial depredation, to the honour of our species, and the glory of Britain, would not have marked the historical page of the times with civil blood, nor sent abroad through the land, among kinsmen, citizens and and neighbours, the horrid, the infernal cry of *murder*!—The plain English, therefore, of the whole, is this; A senatorial majority (let them tell from what ennobled, disinterested, self-denied principle) *feel* themselves pertinaciously disposed to support the lords Mansfield and North, in preference of the lords Chatham and Camden. Is this the amount of Parliament integrity? Parliamentary public spirit? Parliamentary affection for GEORGE III, and the Protestant succe-

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sion?

fion ? Or shall a Murray or a North, in point of pre-eminent rectitude of intention, solidity of talents, and exalted fame, stand unblushing competitors with a PITT or a PRATT ?—The *latter* (last war) reduced the haughty Spaniard and the Gaul to the humility of soliciting peace at the footstool of GEORGE III, and spread the conquering names of BRITONS to the farthest parts of the earth : Let us be told what the *former* have done to excite admiration and gratitude, if we except their superlative merit in plunging us into all the complicated horrors and miseries of civil war ; a war amongst kinsmen, brethren and friends !—Compare them together.—Nay rather, let every freeborn Briton lay his hand on his untutored heart, and generously exculpate the Americans (who have as true a right to property from God, as the Premier or his master) in their CONGRESSIONAL resistance

sistance to a tyrannical, rapacious, vindictive Minister, who is now convulsing a mighty, and hitherto a glorious, empire, in order to glut a herd of needy dependants with rapine and plunder; the rapine of virtuous citizens, and the plunder of genuine Protestants.

A private writer taking so much upon him, will, no doubt, be severely censured by those who are accustomed to think differently on the subject, and who, perhaps, find their account in so doing. It may be sufficient, in reply, to observe, that many writers, on the contrary side, have written, at least, with equal boldness and freedom, with a freedom of acrimonious dogmatism, and abusive inflation of language, not to be imitated by the present writer. To speak with allowable egotism; though a private and an anonymous writer, I am a denizen of

the British empire; not to mention a higher title still, a denizen of GOD's universal empire, the world. I support in my place, and variously circumstanced, the exigencies of the state; help to pay the army and navy, those brave fellows that hitherto have been prodigal of their blood in the defence of Liberty, pure and uncorrupted from court pollution. Nay, to ascend in my importance, I help to maintain GEORGE III, to feed him, to clothe him, and incircle his person with majesty, by contributing to pay the public taxes. What were GEORGE III, king of England, without his thousands, and his ten thousands, *like me*, to pay their quotas into the national treasury?—True, what I pay, is but a mite compared with the proportion of others; but a levied *mite* had once an high compliment paid it, and by a good judge. I also gratefully acknowledge, that I have full value received
in

in present protection and freedom, for every tax I pay, even to the light that shines through my window. What then? This very circumstance creates an anxiety not to be repressed, looking forward to the preservation and continuance of this protection and freedom; without which, the *present* possession would be little beyond a purse of gold in my pocket on Hounslow-heath. This sanctifies my right also, to speak freely of public measures, in which I am as truly concerned, as any Prime Minister of the land. If the British empire be lost, leaning on its first principle, virtuous, equal liberty, I lose my all. In the immediate, or even the remote prospect of this, shall I be silent, because I have not a pension or ministerial bribe for speaking?—My right to speak and write, so far as I refrain from injuring private characters, and private property, (which I shall ever do) is beyond that

of a member of Parliament, or privy counsellor. By that original and divine authority which makes all kings, members of Parliament, and privy counsellors, I write : and were it not for this transcendant and unalienable right, lodged with Man by the Great Creator of Heaven and earth, kings, members of Parliament, and privy counsellors, instead of applying annually to the people for the very breath of their nostrils, the very meat they eat, and the clothes they wear, would in the persons of bailiffs and constables, enter our—more than royal palaces—our virtuous habitations ; empty our coffers, the fruit of our honesty industry ; and, perhaps, in an act of uniform familiarity, ravish our wives, and debauch our daughters.—There is a time for national rest, and constitutional slumbers : but there is likewise a time (would to God, it were not what *now* throws shadows on our
dials !)

dials!) for the thunder-clothed vehemence of the mouth, and the lightning-kindled enthusiasm of the pen. The cannon, even under the match of a Briton, cannot silence the one, nor the sword, even wielded by a Briton, cannot outlast the other.—Long, eternally long, may the experiment remain to be tried, and Britain (almost imperceptibly) in the internal poise of its three equivalent estates, be like the earth, with nothing material or visible to support it, yet balanced immoveably on its axis!—

From the above induction of particulars, it would appear, that the supremacy of Parliament is in fact nothing else, in our corrupt day, than the supremacy of the Prime minister, whose supremacy can be no farther absolute, than that of the Roman Pontiff.

There

There are many things Parliament cannot do, with all its height of pretension, and magnificence of claim. It *cannot* set aside the verdict of a Jury in a criminal cause. It *cannot* interfere in the business of elections for its own members, otherwise than by its Speaker issuing writs. It *cannot* take away from the King the power of a negative on all its legislative acts. It *cannot* impose taxes of interior operation, where there is no deliberative assent of the people, either personally or representatively present. Nor, without mention of farther instances, can it prolong itself beyond its octennial term of existence. With all these marks of impotence and non-efficiency, to hear of Parliamentary omnipotence and infallibility forces one (however unwilling) to picture a snail carrying its little shell about with it, but assuring the circle around, that it is indeed an elephant with a cohort of

of soldiers on its back : or an ephemeron* stepping into existence to-day, and out of it to-morrow, but at the same time declaring itself immortal.

All these acts of parliamentary impotence just now specified are, however, irresistible acts of the people at large, whenever they are struck with the expedience and necessity of interposing ; i. e. whenever court measures and ministerial edicts, have a direct, instant tendency to issue in their slavery. At such an awful period, God, the Monarch paramount of the world, calls upon the people to do their posterity right, by emancipating themselves from those bolts and fetters they were never created for. — God, under whom the greatest emperor that wears a diadem, is no more than a viceroy or governor of a province under an earthly

* A sort of worm that lives for one day.

king; and both no more, when compared with the majesty and almightiness of the subjects at large, than a master-sheep at the head of the flock, with a bell about his neck. Such a renunciation of tyrannical masters, the elastic recovery of a people to the original poise of their own rights, would seem a sentimental exertion of duty to God, the king alone supreme of all the earth, like what the Jews would have exhibited, when they got a king from Heaven *in wrath*, had they thrown themselves upon the clemency and providence of God, by once more recognizing him as their only king and governor. Hear their own language to Samuel. *Pray for thy servants unto the Lord thy God (they durst not call him our God) that we die not, for we have added unto our sins THIS EVIL—to ask a king.*

The people being thrown into disorder

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and

and confusion, in consequence of this reassumption of original rights, is no objection to the effort against voluntary slavery, as nothing can be pure, that owes its existence to art, without a previous fermentation; and as no future system can become perfect and permanent, without the experience of former systems having been imperfect and precarious. Beside, men would always wish to suffer *with hope* (if suffer they must) rather than to suffer without it: there is no hope, in slavery, but—*death*.—Let it be understood here, that the writer would not insinuate the lawfulness or expediency of an effort in the people, till the last extreme: the impassable and unsurmountable extreme shall call them forth, like a voice from Heaven, to the field.

The people alone, therefore, not kings or parliaments, can with any decency chal-

lence the high prerogative of being supreme, that is, ultimately decisive and un-
 responsible. Kings and parliaments are
 in the last instance responsible to those
 that made them—the people. Who
 made the people?—God! *Nihil vero ve-*
rius—Kings and Parliaments otherwise
 would be of no use to the people, but ra-
 ther a curse and a scourge. It is owing
 entirely to their being controulable and
 accountable in the last instance, that
 freemen derive any advantage from their
 rulers and governors; for, unquestiona-
 bly, no body of men would be so stupid
 and senseless as to chuse a ruler or gover-
 nor to injure their condition, or render
 their right to, or possession of, property,
more ambiguous, than in a state of nature.
 The social compact, and the complicated
 form of government grounded upon it,
 commenced for the greater security of life,
 personal freedom, and property: but if in
 such

such a situation they become *less* secure, then is the state of Nature preferable to that of society and government.—To descend from general to local views, from great to little objects.

The Rev. JOHN WESLEY's arguments, and those of all writers on his side, wrought in JOHNSONIAN tissue, must pass for nought, till the above leading data shall be disproved. Picking straws off the surface will never gratify genuine ambition, while inestimable beds of pearl below deride our want of courage, or want of apparatus, to dive for them. Political expedience, connected with a particular system, chiefly lucrative to men officially employed, and general rectitude, involving the common concerns of mankind, and referable to God alone as the supreme arbiter and judge, are two distinct things; nor was it becoming a Christian divine

(he

(he would be thought so) to ground his deductions on the former, and not on the latter. *His* deductions, indeed, they cannot be called. The Rev. *John Wesley* is a plagiarist, without being honest enough to apologize for it. Dr. *Johnson* not only furnished him with his reasonings (if such they may be called) but his language also. True, we are told* he could not adopt better on the side he took. But shall a man counterfeit the current coin of the kingdom, from the circumstance of his not having more valuable models to take his impressions from? Nor was it a seemly excuse for robbing a great and growing people of their rights and franchises, that he had before robbed a celebrated author

* The Critical Reviewers would screen him most shamefully, by alledging he could not find better thoughts or expressions: an excuse for all literary theft, even did a new set of Reviewers arise, pilfer the Critical, and vend their monthly labours as their own.

of his writings.—Our second consideration remains to be brought before the reader.*

* It may not be improper to mention here, the outlines of two Gentlemen's opinions that have figured, but widely differed, in the dispute between *England* and *America*, I mean EDMUND BURKE, Esq; and Dr. TUCKER, *Dean of Gloucester*. Notwithstanding the latter affects to despise the rhetorical thunder and lightning of the former, the most cursory reader cannot but remark, that the Rev. *Dean* found himself violently scorched by the one, and sonorously roused to wounded self-consequence by the other. He expresses great deference for the House of Commons, and modestly hints his regret in entering on a question then before that House: but respecting Mr. Burke, a member thereof, he professedly loosens himself from all ceremony, and, indeed, would notably reduce him to a mere senatorial mummy of splendid diction, simile, and metaphor. Where is the *Dean's* decorum or consistency here? It is not the House that covers the members, but the members that constitute the House, that ought to be considered in connection with the *Dean's* idea of augustness. For the same reason that the House of Commons is intitled to deference and respect, Mr. Burke is, whether in or out of the House. In either case his identity is the same; and as he is confessedly one of the most superior speakers there, both with regard to the weight of argumentative ability, and masterly display of elocution, he certainly comprises, in his single person, a degree of augustness and pre-eminence beyond the *one half* of that assembly, made up
of

of mere monosyllabic *yeas* and *noes*; who, if they have capacity, *cannot discover it*; and if they have knowledge, *cannot communicate it*. The learned Dean, therefore, while he pays his tribute to the House of Commons, and, at the same time, would withhold it from Mr. Burke, undoes with his *right* hand, what he had endeavoured to do with his *left*. This must either be the amount of our Dean's attempt, or he must be understood to mean, that the stone and mortar of the House of Commons, and the benches on which the members sit, actually constitute *the house*.

Waving, however, the point of contrariety between the House and Mr. Burke, it appears to me no breach of deference or respect for the augustness of the *representative body*, in Parliament assembled, to take up and canvass any subject, though instantly in deliberation before that body. The Clergy are always excessively complaisant and well bred. The same right that authorizes us to send representatives to Parliament, authorizes us to *think, speak, and write*, antecedent to the decisions of that assembly. Every member of a free state, sits in a greater than any Parliament House—in the area of humanity, a theatre only bounded by the poles, where he deliberates in right of a summons from the Great CREATOR, instead of a writ issued by the Speaker of a local assembly. Respect and deference to the *latter*, and not to the *former*, in their consequential stages of advance, always arrive at that obsequiousness and submission, which the despot cannot but contemplate with satisfaction, and the vain empty man ever accepts of with avidity.

With regard to a plan of Colonistic accommodation, the point agitated between these two Gentlemen, singularly important and interesting as its consequences would seem, it can never be brought to an issue, so as to carry conviction to either of their bosoms: they proceed on
different

different data, and opposite principles. The Great Senator maintains that the Colonies are *not* in rebellion, but urged to self-defence, and irritated to hostile repulsion, by arbitrary exaction, and high-handed assessments. On this ground the excellent speaker has held forth a plan of accommodation, judicious, solid, pertinent, and salutary, alike becoming *freemen* to offer, and *freemen* to accept. The learned Dean, on the contrary, falls in with the minister's majority in Parliament, and considers the Americans as *rebels*, flying in the face of the parent state, and aiming at a *traiterous* independence; hence have subjected themselves to all that parliamentary indignation and resentment, which have been avowed and put into executive force against them. The Rev. Dean has quite forgot here, that no one can be a *rebel*, till he has been proved such on trial before his Peers, and at common law; and that to punish a man as a *rebel* or *traitor*, prior to his being tried and found guilty, is the same thing as to punish an individual, as a robber or murderer, before he has been proved either.

A royal proclamation can neither *make*, nor *set aside* law, except in France or Turkey: if it supercedes trial at bar or by jury, it supercedes courts of justice, and renders Parliaments useless. In short, the Dean's reasonings and conclusions, in general, and to say the utmost of them, rest upon one pillar only—the supremacy and omnipotence of Parliament: if the substruction can be removed, the superstructure falls of course. Nothing can be supreme or omnipotent, (proved it has been) without being infallible also. Till Parliaments become absolutely infallible, (I believe it will not happen in our day) Parliaments are the reverse of omnipotent and supreme. To say that Parliament is supreme and omnipotent in all cases whatsoever, is to say that Lord North, or the ostensible minister for the time being, is supreme and om-

nipotent in all cases whatsoever. While the minister holds the national bag, as Judas did his master's, he turns Parliaments at pleasure, as the winds turn the weathercock, but not (alas!) with the same innocence and want of consciousness.—It is no less notorious, than the false grandeur, gaming, dissipation and luxury of the times, that *placemen*, *pensioners*, and *military servants*, make up the determined majority in both Houses: a packed, disqualified, unconstitutional junto, not excepting the Right Rev. Bench. Can such be called competent, equitable judges, any more than jurymen or witnesses, in trials of life and death and property, who have been bribed and suborned? —The analogy is pointed and decisive, and evinces with what matureness of judgment, as well as superiority of talents, the *oratorical light* of the British senate revolved his subject. But, alas! the æra, the honourable and inestimable æra, of *accommodation* is now over, in despite of a CHATHAM and a BURKE, whose reasonings, one would have thought, were sufficient to illuminate a world, instead of three insular spots: the Americans have declared themselves INDEPENDENT; while our egregious rulers, sitting on their hobby horse of supremacy and omnipotence, have the sweets of a sugar plumb to roll in their mouths, for losing one-half division of a great empire, hitherto in conjunction with AMERICA, the arbitress of Europe, and the empress of the seas.

CHAPTER II.

ARGUMENT

Colonies, when they find themselves competent, that is, come politically of age, may, and of right should, in consequence of an unanimity; nay, a majority of voices, throw off all subjection to the parent state: a power derived from God, and authorized by the necessity of things.

COLONIZATION is the voluntary, deliberate act of a few leaving the parent country, to begin an adopted one in a distant region, under the instant disadvantages of an unknown situation (inhabited by hostile natives) scarcity, exposure, want of order, and want of form. The

parent country is no less naturally induced to protect and cherish this infant colony, than parents of another kind to protect and cherish their young offspring: nor would a neglect of duty and kind affections, in the one case, be a greater crime than in that of the other. As our children run through the progressive stages of infancy, childhood, youth, and manhood, and demand attentions from their parents applicable and appropriate to each stage; so do colonies, from their first settlement to their ripening into internal subordination and empire; and are certainly intitled to attentions of a similar nature from the mother state. But by the police of all well-constituted kingdoms, a certain time arrives, which we are accustomed to call the age of adultness, when nonage ceases; when children become independent of parents, and privileged to commence, in their own persons, possessors

sors of property, under no parental limitation or controul. In a correspondent way, Colonies, by the persevering exercise of virtue and industry, the cultivation of their lands, and the extension of their commerce, added to the capital circumstance of a prodigious, still increasing population, are authorized by the law of Nature and Providence, the only original binding law, to do for themselves, unconnected, feudally or legislatively, with the parent state.

In their political nonage, indisputably, they felt, and grew beneath the protecting hand of the parent; who, in return for protection, and by way of entire indemnity, beheld a concentration of the childrens commercial goods and property annually pour into her coffers. But shall this monopoly be still insisted on and enforced; this stated requital of favours received

ceived, when the favours are no longer needed or required? Real children, under age, owe passive obedience to parents, as a return for support and maintenance; but come of age, passive obedience ceases of course with the support and maintenance being no longer requisite. In both cases the necessity of the thing ought to strike us with the full force and energy of truth.

Did not children, at a certain time, become independent of their parents, with regard to free agency and moral accountability, there would happen in an indefinite number of instances, such an accumulation of domestic government, as would soon be loaded with all the miseries and abominations of the feudal system, perfectly oppressive and unsufferable, even to the destruction of national police, and social compact. A father

ther might live to be a great-grand-father, and under his absolute dominion in one house, at the same time, have two or three hundred children, grand children, and great grand children, accommodated and employed respectively as he himself should arbitrarily dictate, often, perhaps, only influenced by the lust of rule, caprice, spleen, or unaccountable prejudice. In this way children would be incapacitated to act as free members of a free state; so that such a monopolization and perpetuity of domestic authority, would not only interfere with, but end in, the total abolition of municipal freedom, political subordination, and personal property. Wisely therefore have all governments, in self-preservation, fixt the term of maturity, and the boundaries of youthful subjection: in short, set children free from all ties to parents, but those of reverence, gratitude, and affection, which are spontaneous, con-

ditional duties, always at the command of excellent and deserving objects.

With regard to Colonies, the precise period of political adulthood, has not been ascertained. For what power is competent to ascertain it? There are no existing powers, that we know of, above the kingdoms of this earth. It is therefore the province of Heaven to take the lead in this magnificent affair; to fix the *ne plus ultra* of supremacy on the one hand, and of submission on the other. Heaven, indeed, has not left the exact limits upon record, so as to obviate error; but the sense and will of Heaven may be clearly made out from the plainest deductions of reason and common sense, which in many intricate and doubtful cases are our only guides, and the only infallible standard men have upon earth, to penetrate the art and disguise of things; bringing forward
 primordial

primordial privileges, and authenticate the stamp of derived and delegated power, from that, possessively, underived and undelegated.

Should we leave the decision of the matter to parent states, the term of Colonial puberty would never arrive. States, as regulated by mere men, are as subject to a wretched poverty of intellect, a fordid narrowness of spirit, a selfish mediocrity of concession, as individuals. Selfishness, though variously habited and disguised, is the characteristic of polished humanity, except in punctilious attentions to one another, among members of official departments, at levees, in churches, and in drawing rooms. Where shall we find an individual who will coolly relinquish to another what he looks upon as his sole property, and the chief support of his personal significance

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among

among mankind? Or where shall we find a great kingdom that will coolly relinquish to a Colonial rival, or cotemporary in power, what it looks upon as its sole property, and the chief support of its territorial significance among nations? We must not seek for either instance in the latitudes of our earth. Yet the negative of conduct here, with respect to individuals, is the opprobrium of our nature, and the malady of all societies; one set of men gorged to the throat with luxury, another starving but for our alms on our dunghills: and with respect to nations, the same negative was the destruction of the Grecian and Roman empires; which, instead of supporting themselves at the zenith of power and glory by the means that acquired them, internal virtue, temperance and piety, vainly thought to consolidate universal dominion by exorbitant exactions, and arbitrary stretches of authority,

authority, in their distant provinces and colonies ; whereby they roused up such a spirit of dissatisfaction and resentment, in the members against the head, as soon issued, assisted by interior vice, immorality and licentiousness, in their final ruin and extinction. Particular kingdoms, therefore, must not be admitted umpires to decide the weighty and momentous question of Colonial maturity, or ripeness for self-government.

A kingdom to all eternity (were kingdoms eternal) would no more give up its Colonies to the liberty and independence itself enjoys, than a tyrannical parent would wish to liberate a son from his jurisdiction, were he not liable to be forced by the law of his country, and, indeed, in most cases, by the necessity of the thing itself. For, let the consequences be seriously and candidly marked.

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Were there no compulsory statutes for the liberation of children from their parents, at a specified time, parents, even the most opulent, would not be able to maintain their successions of offspring, except in wretchedness and penury; which in a very few generations would reduce the wealthiest nations to the condition of Indians, living on the uncultivated fruits of the earth, and the unsolicited fish crowding to their shores. And even should industry be admitted to take place between a father and his sons, still the admission is shackled with an absurdity impossible to be thrown off, which would shortly annihilate the whole patriarchal dynasty. In instances of disagreements between father and son, disagreements not in the nature of things to be avoided, strength, bodily strength, would be the *lex ultima judicandi*, as force is confessedly the *ultima ratio regum*. A son might be
 very

very often stronger than his father, or two or more sons might conspire against a father, and subdue him, whereby the whole domestic chain of government would be unlinked, while brawny limbs and athletic shoulders, not wise heads and experienced hoary locks, would bear off the chaplet of victory, and the younger reign in the elder's stead,—

Thus it appears, that the adult domestic period has been established in all well-regulated states, with a degree of wise foresight, on which their existence, as well as property, depends. The adult period of Colonies comes next to be considered. Such a period, it has been observed, would never arrive, were it left to the option and discretion of the Colonial parent. But notwithstanding this peevish, impoverished, and jaundiced maxim of state, shall it never arrive? This is just saying,
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with more illiterate dogmatism than truth, that States shall never grow old, diseased, enfeebled, and decrepit: i. e. it is an attempt to stop the course of Nature, arrest the progress of decay, and check the material dissolution of parts; suspend the attrition of wheels, and counteract the wearing of machinery. States are subject to all the vicissitudes of the human body; like it must increase, decrease, and moulder into dust. Shall an old palsied man wrestle with the young and vigorous? the diseased with the healthy? the weaker with the stronger?—In other words, shall parent States be eternal? and shall Colonies never become parent States? Absurd and fanciful indeed!—Mark the extravagance here. In many supposable cases, not to mention cases that have really happened, Colonies may become greater, wealthier, and more powerful, than the birth-giving State.

State. At such a crisis, what is to be done? Shall the lesser legislatively controul the greater? The poorer the wealthier? Or the weaker the stronger?—The questions would seem to answer themselves, and may be left to Lord North himself, if he has not altogether abandoned the sterling currency of idea and language (the reverse of his conduct with regard to the coin) and has not folded up, for ever and for ever, the rectitude and integrity of things, in the plaitings of his Aulic-robe, or the duplications of his Blue Ribbon.

All nations upon earth were once Colonies, except the first stationary spot of its inhabitants: and even that may be called a Colony from Heaven, at least so long as the disposition of Heaven reigned there, peace, love, friendship, and content. All nations were once in the most helpless condition of infant territory,
and

and civilization. How have these Colonies expiated the guilt of their becoming great and flourishing kingdoms, the terror and admiration of the world, the Ethiopic, the Grecian, and the Roman? Lord North and his conclave of Senators ought to write maledictory epitaphs to their memory; send some of their order from their silent, or abused seats in Parliament, upon an eastern tour; and there instead of falling down on their knees, with sepulchral decency, unutterable consciousness, and holy admiration, spurn the ashes of their dead generals, heroes, and orators; trample on the marmorean relics of their glory, and deface the engravements of their unenvied immortality! They should find no interruption in the solitude of their exploits (as their consciences were left behind them) but from the remonstrances of awakened echoes, or the inarticulated murmurings

murmurings of passing the winds! England, and indeed every other island, were once Colonies from the Gallic or Spanish continent: does this entitle France or Spain to any right or jurisdiction over the British islands?

The progress from Colonial nonage and imbecility, to the adulthood and extensive powers of empire, has been as observable; since the beginning of time, as the growth of the human body from infancy to manhood. The world may be called a great body made up of continents, islands, empires, kingdoms, principalities, and states, its individuals in a *figurative* sense; a kingdom likewise is a lesser body, made up of men and women, its individuals in a *real* sense. Men and women have a progression of growth from birth to the period of legal maturity. Nothing can obstruct or limit this regular growth, with-

out doing violence to God and nature, as well as society; a crime, multiform and penal, equal to mutilation, maiming, partially robbing life of its subsistence, or totally destroying it. Empires, kingdoms and states, have likewise a progression of increase from their first colonizing existence, to the ripened æra of their independence: nothing can obstruct or limit this regular increase, without doing violence to God in the first instance, the King of *all* kings, and the Lord of *all* lords; a crime for which kings, ministers, and parliaments must be one day as responsible, as those tyrants and monsters that would, by external implements and force, (a thing quite possible) stop the growth of an infant to a child; of a child to a youth; or of a youth to a man.

This seems to be the true and unaffected view of the subject, unwarpt by party,
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and unallied to worldly hopes and fears ; which, alas ! too often serve to silence the voice of truth, sully its brightness, or muddy its channels. It is so obvious and reasonable, that I cannot help wondering it does not strike every mind left to its own freedom, and not abashed to borrow light from Christianity ; that admirable, but not half enough revered system of pure equity, disinterested justice, refined morals, exquisite philosophy, and generous principles ; without which, adopted and highly estimated in courts and cabinets, no kingdoms can rise to, or secure greatness, any more than individuals. This I would assert, and hand down to posterity, (could any thing of mine reach posterity) under every circumstance of discouragement and unpopularity ; and notwithstanding the accommodated reasonings of Dr. Johnson, Dean Tucker, and Sir John Dalrymple, without

omitting to mention our little *tabernacle politician*, though indeed nothing better than a dangling satellite at the belt of Jupiter.*

Though blunt and bold truths coming unawares upon men, and overturning accustomed modes of thinking, at first rather tend to fix the character of extreme singularity on the author, than to convince the reader ; yet a time will come, when the unrestrained powers of reflection, and the natural good sense of mankind, will take the lead of fashion and pre-

* It may be thought surprising that the writer has so often introduced so diminutive a character as Mr. Wesley. In himself it is confessed, he is intrinsically so, but not as connected with superstition and false politicks, which Cœlas comprehended more than half the world. A man of Mr. Wesley's spiritual art, and evangelical hypocrisy, void of disinterestedness and self-denial, and unclothed with humility, may at all times have the multitude at his heels. The multitude never think or reflect.

judice,

judice, like re-action attaining, that is, reinstating, what was lost by simple action or pressure: or to speak more justly, like condensed air, and concentrated sunbeams, regaining that medium and expansion made their natural properties by the Great Creator, and best accommodated to general benefit.

Many people, in the official departments of the State, who somehow or other imagine themselves called upon to defend Government at all hazards, whether right or wrong, will probably be very ready to exclaim against the bold and free spirit of these remarks, not beholding *the beam in their own eye*. Politicians, indeed, are not obliged to be good Christians. They will call them Republican, and in their tendency, dangerous to civil administration, as well as disrespectful to the K—. Yet such persons
will

will as probably never reflect, that while the foregoing remarks can only do imaginary harm, even upon their own supposition of their being dangerous, they themselves do substantial and irreparable harm to the State, to their King and Country, by the dissoluteness and profligacy of their lives. It scarcely can be denied, that most of our Rulers are men of gross morals, and irreligious private conduct. It may be argued, they are not worse than other members of the State : but if they are no better, they are virtually worse ; as persons in power and trust ought to be exemplary for superior and uncommon virtues. The routine of public worship is not religion, though from the throne to the cottage it unaccountably passes as such : Papists, Turks, Gentoos, and Indians, are, in this respect, as truly religious as we ; an Asiatic Nabob,

bob, or Chinese Mandarin, as G— III,
or the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Luxury, effeminacy, and sensuality, these are the hydra evils that hurt a state, sap the foundation of Government, and undermine slowly, but surely, the platform of municipal freedom; while the Essay Writer, with the worst intentions, only gives the world an opportunity to examine, and in cases of error in his positions, of confuting him. Hereby government, in truth, acquires additional strength, splendor, and beauty, instead of being injured. No theoretical reasoning, or speculative opinions, can disturb a State, though they may disturb men in the possession of abused power, and ill-acquired opulence. If bad, they are easily answered, and as assignable to oblivion, as rockets and bubbles into air. If good, that is, founded on unalterable maxims,

maxims, and the general conviction of mankind, no opposition can suppress them; nay, the opposition of courts and hierarchies, will add to their effect. But what remedy can effectually conquer national degeneracy, a depravity of manners infecting the whole body-politic, fashion and breeding, and the Clergy, their grand allies?

The command of the powers of a State, and self-command, being at the head of Government, and the head of self-government, are quite different things. Ministers, without the last, can never acquit themselves honourably or successfully, with respect to the first. Private virtue is the only foundation of public, as the whole can no other way be made up, but of the parts; and *public virtue* is the only secure basis of national peace, freedom, prosperity and glory. To
loosen

loosen the links of this chain, were to separate vegetable life from the growth of the oak, as well as light and heat from the body of the sun.—Alas ! while the ostensible friends and servants of government are sending out mighty fleets and armies, to support what they are pleased to call the honour and character of the nation, they tarnish its true honour and character in the private paths of life : i. e. while they stick a feather in Britannia's cap, they are aiming a dagger at her heart, by the vicious dissipation, corrupt prodigality, and pleasurable extravagance, of their lives. Fleets and armies, in this case, are no more than the bravadoing of presumption and confidence ; and demonstrate a mode of procedure in our rulers totally inconsistent with itself.—What their fleets and armies may be supposed to do abroad, our great men are more than undoing at home, by their scandalous vi-

ces, and glaring immoralities. Are these the pillars of the realm ? of government ? of monarchy ? Yes ; but they are rotten pillars, that must shortly give way, and bury in their ruins the glorious and superb fabric of British Liberty, without even the consolation of one truly valiant man, like him of *Gaza*, to consecrate the mighty devastation.

While our parliamentary court leaders, our cabinet and privy counsellors, by means of the basest venality, breach of honour, and breach of integrity, to their constitutional masters, the people, get the public money into their hands, to squander away on parade of living, a false style of life, profusion, licentiousness and libertinism, (the overthrowing of the once illustrious empires of Greece and Rome) to squander away on parasites, mistresses, horses and dogs ; they
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can never succeed or prosper in any undertaking, except in destroying, sooner or later, our happy and envied constitution. — They are, with sadness it may be said, the *real* libellers and defamers of king and government, and justly may be stiled rebels and traitors of the most dangerous, because the least suspected kind : the dark though smiling assassins, the certain though insidious underminers of their country ; and not the writer who asserts strong facts and bold truths, that offend more by their novelty, than any error or danger they contain.

The power of the delegated branches of the state, of the crown, privy councils, and parliaments, has been stretched so fatally high, by a variety of court writers of late, writing for pay, not for immortality ; that it is become the unavoidable duty of every free member of the empire, to coun-

teract the obvious intention of their writings. Dr. Johnson in particular, a man of genius and erudition, has dipped his (once admired) pen so deep in prerogative poison, and aristocratic infection, that every generous and unpenioned quill in the kingdom should be exerted to prepare an antidote against him, before his poison spread with canine malignity, and the infection become epidemical through the land.—How has the sublime ethic philosopher fallen into the selfish mediocrity of politics! How has the admirable critic, and classical wit, sunk in the vacuum of a court! Hid himself behind the shadow of Lord North, in a voluntary eclipse, whose brightness, primary and diffusive, might have illuminated a whole kingdom, and thrown even a court into shade!—The morning sun, serene and radiant, suddenly losing itself in the fogs and vapours of night!—The pure unruffled

fled element, that always returned true pictures of objects around ; nay, heightened representations of beauty, disturbed and muddled by the blackening tempest !

Born with a poignant philosophic taste,
 Bright his ideas, his conceptions chaste ;
 Born with a fancy ethic heights to soar,
 Where rob'd in light but angels soar'd before :
 Born with those masculine superior pow'rs,
 No schools bestow, the gift of Heav'n, not ours ;
 To trace the mazes of the human mind,
 And all the secret springs that move mankind ;
 Whether of friendship, love, of hope or fear,
 With perçant insight, accuracy severe :
 The bard admired, the critic sternly dread,
 Form'd both at inspiration's fountain head ;
 To mark those beauties, that creation new,
 Shakespear from his exhaustless treasures drew ;
 Depaint with art's whole lore, but nature's ken,
 The shining glories of the classic pen ;
 The Attic, Roman genius to pervade,
 In all its bold results of light and shade ;
 Nay, while his eye o'er their rich landskips thrown,
 To sketch out finer landskips of his own ;
 His diction with invention's noon-tide glowing,
 With grace, strength, energy, majestic flowing :
 Such once was Johnson, e'er diseas'd and poor,
 He sat a beggar at St. James's door ;
 As poor in spirit, as in soul diseas'd,
 With alms like other wretched paupers pleas'd ;

Johnson,

Johnson, the mighty Johnson, mighty wit,
 With tops and marbles now like schoolboy smit ;
 Bought for his talents, as the Indian sells,
 His furs and ores, for trinkets, beads and bells.
 A drudge *juntonian*, a badg'd pamphleteer,
 For (pottage-mefs) three hundred pounds a year ;
 Asperſing and belying, like a ſlave,
Three millions of the virtuous, free, and brave.
 O ! piteous lapſe of faculties divine,
 A diamond on the muzzle of a ſwine !
 A Bacon's lapſe from fame, moſt vile, moſt wiſe,
 And Lucifer twice fallen from the ſkies !*

—It is no matter who are the encouragers
 of ſuch writings, and at the bottom of
 our national diſgrace, whether a Caledo-
 noian Jacobite Thane, or an Anglican

* Among thoſe who have deſerted their proper cha-
 racters, and abandoned their names to the indignant ani-
 madverſion of poſterity, may be included, the Arch-
 biſhop of York, as no undiſtinguiſhed figure. In his ce-
 lebrated ſermon, on a well-known occaſion, he has ad-
 vanced principles equally unworthy of the free born Bri-
 ton, and Proteſtant divine. What a ſcandal is this, in
 the year 1777 ? When did his Grace read the New Teſ-
 tament ?—He pretends to be a diſciple of the Lord Je-
 ſus ; but he is much more the diſciple of G—ge R—x.—
 It is well for this unbluſhing high prieſt, that Hoadley,
 once the terror of ſlaves and ſycophants, is now in
 Heaven !

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Tory

Tory Lord : both have adulterated ideas of liberty, unworthy conceptions of their species, and an affected, unvirtuous, illiterate disregard for Posterity, a death or life-giving Posterity, into whose temple no tyrant or satrap of a tyrant is admitted.—It may be just mentioned here, that even the clergy have taken an active part against Revolutionary freedom, and the rightful possession of property, by petitioning the K— in behalf of violent invasion, and prædatory conquest.—O shame, everlasting shame, to our English and Scottish messengers of *mercy*, and ministers of *peace*!

It is full time to look about us, when our pulpit teachers, a set of men we create, feed and clothe, would cut our throats in cold blood, and seize on our possessions like public robbers—If reformation of morals and manners be the salvation of a
corrupt

corrupt and vicious state, deliberate, justified, gloried-in acts of piracy, plunder and manlaughter, would seem a bad preparative for it : the times of war, a war among friends, fellow citizens, and compatriots, a most unfortunate season : a war without an object, such as Virtue and Christianity cannot petition Heaven to bless, stretching into boundlessness, and without any probable termination. Is this the *clerical period* for reformation ? for the chaste exercises of a meek, quiet, holy, self-denied spirit, *forbearing one another, and forgiving one another* ?—The Clergy of all times and nations have been alike ; studying to set men by the ears ; to partake of the spoils, and profit by the miseries and ravages of mankind. Nor will Dr. ROBERTSON'S historical fame, fair and admired as it is, ever wipe off that *spot* from his character, as a Minister of the Gospel of peace, which it contracted by
 twice

twice moving for and signing the General Assembly's Petition to the King; for what? to behold his subjects with paternal clemency, to lessen their burdens, redress their grievances, and conciliate their affections?—No! but in some dark moment of infatuated temerity, to write out their sentence with little less than Draconian thirst of blood.*—Rather—to call in the gentle aid of the Muse,

PEACE to the man, peace to his latter end,
To his example may all worlds attend,
Who, to reform the age, and SAVE the state,
Reforms himself first, ere reform too late.
Were this the leading care of one and all,
At self-conviction's honest bosom call;

* Notwithstanding this writer's depth of historical information, his penetration into human affairs, classical taste, erudition, purity of style, and melody of period, he appears to want one of the first requisites of a great genius, viz. unrespecting generosity of principle, and unshackled comprehensiveness of mind.—But he is a clergyman, tied to a particular establishment, which at once humbles him to the servile condition of a courtier, contracts his thoughts, chills his affections, and suspends his feelings. Besides, he is his Majesty's historiographer for Scotland. *Where his treasure is, there will his heart be also.*

Soon would the state grow better, save itself,
 From its worst foes,—*pride, pleasure, gaming, pelf.*
 Pelf, to which priests ev'n elevate the eye,
 More than to Stephen's vision-op'ning sky;
 Not Robertson excepted, who in wealth
 Increases, as decrease his prime and health;
 All projects else, e'en morally refin'd,
 Are but fine pictures offer'd to the mind;
 Which indolence, constrain'd by taste, admires,
 But feels no kindling imitative fires:
 A moonshine sea-side landskip, all serene,
 No breeze to interrupt the solemn scene,
 Stealing in languor on the passive soul,
 Controul'd most in the absence of controul:
 Not so when that proud element's enrag'd,
 With waring winds and counter tides engag'd;
 It wakes sensation, wakes life's active springs,
 Rouses precaution, and gives motion wings.

Virtue in private life is public fame,
 And the reverse uncoverable shame.
 Vice, low-born vice, unmans the human kind,
 And throws a sick'ning torpor o'er the mind;
 Holds ev'ry gen'rous passion in controul,
 And checks the nobler sallies of the soul;
 Unspokes sublime ambition, melts away,
 That hardy valour nothing should dismay.
 Hence, dries up Patriotism's holy springs,
 And to the life of Freedom murd'rous clings.
 Fleets, armies, are the bugbears of a state,
 Tho' held at Court unconquerably great;
 The bullies and prize-fighters of the land,
 By calms, diseases, panics—at a stand;
 Objects immense of sov'reign sneer to foes,
 If Virtue steers not while the fresh breeze blows;

Should

Should piety nor spread, nor trim the sails,
 To catch Heaven's friendship more than tides and gales;
 In spirit not, beyond the lust of gain,
 The glitt'ring legions on the martial plain.
 This superstition? this Enthusiast's zeal?
 Well—be it so—may no court fogs conceal:
 No envious ashes, from St. James's blown,
 On the immortal quenchless flame be thrown.

Were Politicians, Philosophers, and
 Philosophers genuine Christians; or did
 Philosophy and Revelation, as well as Po-
 litics, conspire to form a Patriot K. and
 Patriot Statesman; such kings and states-
 men would not only consider the le-
 gislative supremacy of a state as de-
 finable, but the limits of empire like-
 wise terminable. Generally speaking,
 the less extended any of them be,
 on the juster and surer basis it rests.
 If one has a right to assume jurisdic-
 tive Omnipotence in all cases what-
 soever, every State hath, although dif-
 ferent in internal conformation, wis-
 dom, virtue and policy: but no state can

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have it but from Colonian derivation, and gradual accretion of numbers associating together : therefore, all Colonies that can keep off the attacks of foreign invaders, let them be who they will, whether quondam friends, or hereditary enemies, so as to attend uninterruptedly to interior improvement and cultivation, may attain to that opulence and strength, on which alone the so much boasted supremacy of states can be founded. The ruling legislative powers of one state, indeed, may be stiled supreme and infallible, with regard to the ruling powers of any other state ; but that these ruling powers should arrogate supremacy in a state within which they originated, and are contingently liable to be curtailed and destroy'd, is such an instance of human vanity in rulers and governors, as will serve to sanctify all the execrable tyrannies that have ever deformed and dishonoured the earth.

We

We have already seen, that all kingdoms, without exception, were once Colonies : it is only stepping high enough up in the Records of Time, to be as certainly convinced of this, as that every man was once a boy, and every parent once a child. Even Great Britain itself, now standing on the pinnacle of Self-eulogy and Self-idolization, is an example of it. What was right, lawful, expedient, and practicable, two, four, six thousand years ago, is right, lawful, expedient, and practicable now, in the year M,DCC,LXXVII, of the Christian æra. If Politicians and Courtiers can advance any thing in contradiction, they must recur to that pitiful policy which we call Corporational, by way of stigma and reproach : a policy which should stimulate Great Britain to plunder and destroy France, Spain, Germany, and all the nations of the Earth, WERE SHE

ABLE.

ABLE. For one kingdom has no more right from God, the Guardian and Protector of Kingdoms, to rob and destroy another, than one individual has to rob and destroy another individual. In the latter case it would be private felony and murder; in the former, public, unbounded, and undefinable. With regard to the private commission of offences so atrocious, all civilized states have appointed the most awful tribunals, and most exemplary punishments; indeed, in simple self-preservation, as robbers and murderers unchecked, would throw kingdoms into uproar, distraction, and misery. Is it to be supposed then, that in national commissions of the same offence, God, the King and Judge supreme of all the Earth, will take no cognizance, appoint no punitive award? Then should God exhibit himself to Creation as inferior to an Earthly Sovereign, in sagacity, foresight, and

and prudence ; as in consequence of these public enormities, if unrestrained by his unseen agency, his general dominion of our world, consisting of all the Governments now established among mankind, would be thrown into anarchy and blood ; while one daring, successful tyranny would overspread the face of the earth, and swallow up his providential, and gradually evolving plans of future peace, virtue, and happiness. The analogy cannot be broken, without breaking the entire chain of nature and things.

Chaste and enlightened ideas of our specific situation as subjects of God, who not only reigns over us, with a jealous anxiety about the performance of our duty to him, but who created us also, must always be our rule of conduct, when contemplating ourselves the subjects of an earthly prince ; who, under God, equally

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his king as ours, has no farther right to claim subjection from us, if at any time clashing with our subjection to God, the higher power, than a Viceroy or Ambassador has to claim subjection manifestly and of right only claimable by him they represent. The analogy stands upon impregnable ground.

Implicit, unexaminable submission to kings and governors, if really excellent by taking their line of administration from God, the supreme King and Governor, might be safely acquiesced in, and submitted to ; but when has the world found out such prodigies ?

An excellent king would be one of the most marvellous spectacles upon earth, as temptations nearly infinite, and almost invincible, solicit him on all hands to be the reverse. A bad king is as consequentially
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to be expected, as that frail mortals will generally give way to the seductions of power, pleasure, voluptuousness and flattery. Perhaps half a million of Kings have reigned in the various parts of the earth, of whom it may not uncharitably be said, that scarce a thousand have been truly excellent. This disproportion is immense; but not more immense than within the boundaries of fair calculation. Let it be remembered that our term of calculation is—*truly excellent*: and if not truly excellent, there certainly lies an appeal from all Kings, let their extrinsic glory, majesty and terror, be what they may, to a higher power, not barely in truth excellent, but *the most excellent*. Every individual is judge of this appeal. If the conviction of its necessity and rectitude should expose him to present pains and amercements, he has that indemnification in his own bosom, which no tyrant, or ar-

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bitrary

bitrary court, can take away, because they can neither see it, nor feel it, as an object of envy, jealousy, or appetency : and even should it expose him to the loss of life, still the loss of life would be an acquisition compared with the loss of conscience ; not to mention, that the loss of life would but the sooner send him to *that* tribunal, and to *that* judge, who instituted the appeal, and will impartially hear it.

Upon the above principles, Colonies have an heaven - imparted right, prior to all Charters, to become Empires, *when they can*; that is, in consequence of internal exertion and industry, without invading the *home property*, and imperial immunities of other countries or kingdoms. This inference is also obvious, that to contravene and impede them, under any pretext whatsoever, in their progress from the non-age to the full-age of empire,

empire, would be the same thing as to lay the hand of Despotism on Arts and Science; on Virtue and Industry; on Agriculture and Manufactures; on Trade and Commerce; the eventual unfoldings of the Human Mind; the diversified operations of Genius and Understanding; the unavoidable and spontaneous result of which, in the issue of things, are, *Dominion, Empire, Independence*. In consequence of the above taking place under the tuition of Providence, the Creation of God, instead of being rude and untrodden, a wild and howling wilderness, becomes a second time the Garden of Eden, and a prelude to the final reintegration of Nature.

Let *these* be confined to one spot, one island, one continent, the restoration of things would never happen; three parts out of four of our earth would be a drea-

ry unhospitable region, not fit for a sun-burned Indian to make his way through, instead of a God to revisit; and the greatest proportion of mankind be wretched slaves, or more wretched sycophants. But when God revisits our earth, in any special manifestation of himself, it will not be to cast his eye around on slaves, but to reign among freemen; not to behold monarchs raised as a sort of rival-gods above subjects, but to behold them levelled with subjects, and all alike his subjects.—To stop the course of Colonization, therefore, towards independence, is to supercede the decrees of Heaven, and obstruct the necessary evolutions of Divine Providence.

All empires and kingdoms degenerate into tyranny. Tyranny is the plethoric disease of states, as the gout or jaundice is of corpulency. The last state upon earth must be *absolutely and perfectly free*,
because

because the remove from that to Heaven will be immediate. It is a counter-action then of the sublime revolutionary scheme of Heaven, to prevent the progress of infant Colonies and States, when we are not actually attacked in our property at home, which, justly speaking, is a Nation's only rightful property, every thing else being the effect and acquisition of conquest, violent possession, cruelty, rapine and blood. Nor can I help deploring, that Great Britain is now effectually punished, by an invisible hand, through the medium of that very Continent which she unjustifiably took possession of, at first, from the unoffending native inhabitants, who had as good a claim of property to that Western Continent, as we to any part of the Northern or Eastern.

This will be called superstition perhaps.
Yet I am no Moravian or Methodist ; no
high

high or low church-man ; no Puritan, or Seceder ; but, in short, a simple believer, without having *confessed* or *articled* myself to any sect : so that no sect or party need be at the trouble to assume the honour, or throw off the discredit of me. I have never broken the peace, nor ever will, while in my senses. I love my country and king, and assist both with my purse, whenever they have any legitimate demand upon it ; and should they ever be involved in the defence of true liberty, whether *religious* or *civil*, with foreign assailants, I shall reckon my life as taxable as my purse. Yet notwithstanding all this professionary detail, I cannot suppress my sentiments on American affairs ; cannot help thinking we are wrong, *kicking against the pricks*, and *fighting against God* ; in so far as we would destroy the freedom and property of a great people, placed in a distant quarter of the world, and hastening fast,
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under the eye of an auspicious providence, to political maturity and hardihood; whom we would ignobly depress and retard in their shooting out into the vigour of a free and independent government, because we have abused and adulterated government ourselves, stretching our depredations and massacres, not only to the Eastern, but Western world: as if the supreme Lord of the world, *by whom Kings reign, and Princes decree justice*, will not avenge blood, the blood of thousands, and ten thousands, under whatever pretence shed short of actual self-preservation.

Were the Asiatic, or the North-American Indians, insulting our borders, or pirating on our coasts? No! their ignorance of navigation secured them from the guilt of murder and robbery in ten thousand instances, now crying aloud for vengeance on the head of Great Britain.—*Put up thy*

thy sword into its sheath, for they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword.—Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it, saith the Lord.—Scripture to Lord North's, or Lord Mansfield's nerve of hearing, will be quite unparliamentary, and untechnical: but,—Scripture is the politics of Heaven; nor can I suppose, with all their courtly refinement and breeding, that any noble Lords in administration will take upon them to aver, that the politics of St. James's, are the politics of Heaven. If not, let them then refrain from palming *their* intolerant plans of taxational policy on distant regions, that positively will not accept of them; because they cannot, as Freemen born, and Trustees accountable to Posterity, unless by force, violence, and bloodshed, overpowered by numbers, and reduced to slavery; in which depressed and degraded state they should seem little worth the acceptance

of a great, generous, virtuous, and pious monarch.

To rule over slaves is the spirit and ambition of Satan, who views a *freeman* with the same contorted countenance, the same squint-eyed malignity, that he would view an angel from Heaven.——Let then our high - prerogative senators, our boastful assertors of supreme legislation, be told, that to deny colonies the freedom they themselves enjoy, without deserving it better, is a Colossion stride towards despotism, the disgrace of manhood, and the degradation of our species : beside being such an over-exertion of authority as a parent would be justly condemnable for, who would attempt to over-rule his childrens free agency, after they had come of age, that is, been accounted competent by the laws of God and man, to will and act for themselves.

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Many people, affecting to be thought sensible and knowing, shrewdly remark, that the Americans have begun a century too soon, to set up the standard of INDEPENDENCE. Such shrewd remarkers must suppose that *right* and *justice* have a growth, a state of unripeness and maturity, like animals and vegetables, and that actions essentially criminal now, will not be so an hundred years hence ; in other words, that what is actual rebellion now, will, in a few generations, become heroic spirit, and virtuous magnanimity. By the same process of reasoning, white will become black in due time, and snow hot : a courtier honest, and a play-actor shame-faced.

Opinions, manners, fashions, change with times,
 The cast of virtue's, and the cast of crimes ;
 But HONESTY, God's image in the soul,
 Changes but with the needle and the pole.

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So incomprehensive a knowledge of things, so shallow an acquaintance with the history of nations, the progress of society, and origin of government, would seem scarcely worth recital, much less an elaborate refutation. Remarks indeed of this kind are generally in the mouth of men that enjoy emoluments under the crown, but who would wish to have the appearance of candor and moderation; i. e. silently rejoice in their ill-obtained lucre at the same time that they would not be thought seduced from truth and integrity by sordid gain. The duplicity every mortal perceives but themselves.

It is truly a laughable circumstance in a serious affair, that Great Britain should first qualify, and enable the colonies to do for themselves, independent of the parent that begat them, and then cry out on their undutifulness and ingratitude, for ac-

ting in this line of qualification and capacity. Should a father give his son a capital to carry on the business or trade he had instructed him in, and afterwards reprimand and punish him for disobedience, because he made use of that very capital, and applied himself effectually to business: what might we think of such a father? The answer to the question involves the deepest crimination of the ministry. The charge of ingratitude lies not at the door of the colonies, but the charge of inconsistency and preposterous conduct lies at the door of the Premier and his conclave, speaking in the name of Great Britain; but like many other interpreters, speaking interestedly, arbitrarily and deceitfully.

Providence has great and important revolutions to bring about in the world, previous to its becoming what we are assured by

the prophetic spirit it must become, before the termination of all things. God originally was the only acknowledged King among mankind; but as soon as vice, wickedness and idolatry began to prevail, men in different societies and dynasties, appointed Kings for themselves. God continuing to be their King by the Ambassadorial medium of teachers and prophets, would have been a constant troublesome check on their enormities, an awful living evidence against them. Resolved, therefore, upon immorality, and the grossest corruptions, they agreed to emancipate themselves from Heaven, and choose Kings and rulers, that they well knew would be as immoral and corrupt as themselves; nay, in many instances, take the lead in every abomination. The Jewish nation was one remarkable instance of this: we have it upon the most authentic record. While they preserved primæ-
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val innocence and simplicity, they rejoiced and were blessed in their theocratic polity: but when they became debased and polluted by the Heathen nations around, and captivated with their vain kingly pageantry, they boldly and riotously demanded an earthly king from Samuel, as they themselves express it, *that we may be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us and fight our battles.*

The degeneracy of the Jews, and their lust after a visible temporal King, in imitation of the Pagan world, commenced together; which demonstrates a degree of analogy between kingly domination, and the unrestrained practice of vice and corruption, not to be resisted. As immediate communications with Heaven would always have had the effect of controuling base and unworthy passions; therefore, so

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soon as mankind wished freely to indulge them, they were restless and unhappy till that communication was cut off. Since that fatal and degrading epoch, things have continued in the channel of licentiousness and debauchery to this day.

Courts, generally speaking, are the centre and licensed purlieus of corruption, vice and immorality, with a superficial decorum and breeding, indeed, that would gild and varnish their want of virtue and integrity. But things will not, cannot last long in this retrograde path of reformation and moral improvement. As the world first began with the theocratic form of government, it will certainly also end with it, how far soever we really seem to be at present from it. Kings and kingdoms are opposing and counter-acting one another, while they all alike wallow in the foulest vices and crimes. Thus in the end they must destroy one another, or be
destroyed

destroyed by formidable evils from Heaven; till the insuperable necessity shall stare men in the face, of recurring to the first institution of all, Theocracy; in the mean time fitting themselves for it, it, by the practice of moral virtues, and piety towards God.

Before this glorious and happy renovation, however, can take place, mankind must have the most generous, pure, and exquisite conceptions of Liberty; quite the reverse of what it is at this ignominious day throughout the world, if we except those critical, unparalleled, and astonishing struggles in one great continental division of it. God cannot act sentimentally in arbitrary governments, or among slaves, till he first work a miracle, by instantaneously changing mens minds. Such instruments would never push forward schemes destructive of themselves, which
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all schemes of manly freedom, virtuous independence, and moral self-denial would be: nor can a thorough reformation of manners and principles ever take place in any state, where a political establishment of religion subsists; because such reformation would be an act of dissent and non-conformity, altogether subversive of that establishment. Besides, in all national establishments, the showy appearance of duty, pompous rites and ceremonies, take off from mens reverence for the reality, nay, actually supercede it in nine hundred and ninety instances of a thousand. When we have proved to our fellow creatures that we are religious, by going to the same place of public worship, and uttering over and over the same responses with them, we seldom think of any thing farther. I keep my neighbour in countenance, and my neighbour keeps me; over and above that, my neighbour

is always before my eyes, but God is invisible. Great Britain and Ireland, therefore, (with sorrow and pain I make the observation) can never be made instrumental to bring about those grand political restorations, those religious reforms, which some time or other must certainly happen. Should they ever be effected in these kingdoms, it must be through the medium of persons unconnected by corruption with the court, and by creeds with a national hierarchy. Courts and hierarchies *swear* and *take bribes*, to preserve inviolate their respective institutions : how then can they be made instruments to perjure themselves, and save highwaymen the trouble, by picking their own pockets? moreover, truth requires no forms of adjuration among its friends, nor virtue any undue influence to be used, to insure its practice. Heaven is not reduced to such pitiful shifts.

There

There are now two great quarters of the globe occupied by *Christian freemen*; many of them Britons, or the descendants of Britons, undebauched by a corrupt and vicious court, and unembarrassed by a religious establishment: I mean our commercial territory in the East-Indies, and the vast Western Continent of America, especially the latter. Great, and illustrious things may be expected from AMERICA; where men have not sworn and subscribed to one another, to limit their municipal and religious knowledge; consequently, are open and unengaged for the inspirations of Heaven, the manly exertions of generous enterprize, and the illimitable extensions of improvement on every object of literary discussion, and scientific research. There unoccupied territorial boundlessness, furnished with every thing nature can produce, or art require, except gold and silver mines, the

pandemonium of states, affords infinite resources to a bold, free, spirited, ingenious people; a people undebased by hereditary subjection to civil or religious tyrants, to haughty pampered statesmen, or bishops no less haughty and pampered. Blessed situation! enviable clime!—Such would seem a theatre somewhat worthy a Divine Being to act upon, and not an insular corner of the earth, possessed by a people quite corpulent and diseased with luxury—corrupted and debauched by their nobles and gentry; their corrupters and debauchers themselves abandoned to gaming tables and horse races, and prostituted to masquerades and brothels—their parliaments pinned to the minister's sleeve, and their elections carried on by perjury and Asiatic gold.—An insular nook—where the inhabitants have not elbow-room, without emigrating, by thousands, to distant shores, nor their consciences fair play,

play, but through the tolerating grace and favour of *spiritual lords over the Heritage of God*, my lords, the bishops—where art has got the better of innocence, and hypocrisy of virtue—and where every thing sells at an high marketable price, but—wisdom and integrity.—From this glorious Continent, doubtless, in due time, Civil and Religious Liberty, light and knowledge, will spread over all the nations of the world, now mostly merged in disgraceful slavery; groaning under royal despots, the curse of their species, or kissing the obscene toes of insolent time-serving ecclesiastics.—Such an infinity of human beings *seeming* content and happy in their worse than bestial servitude, is no proof of their being so. In many cases, their torpid acquiescence and insensibility, is an aggravation, or rather the emphasis, of their misery, the dead sign-posts of
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their bondage, the ante-sepulchral escutcheons of their wretchedness.

Whether the period is *now*, that America shall stand forth high and respectable on the scale of nations, or an hundred years hence, it matters not, nor does it affect our general argument. Whenever it happens, Great Britain must yield the palm of empire ; and whether she yield it at present, or at any future period, is a point of no material consequence to a true patriotic philosopher, or philosophical Briton, who would aspire to have a standard beyond times and seasons—One thing, however, cannot escape present animadversion. Lest PROVIDENCE might mistake the proper crisis, to call forth the Americans to Empire and Independence, Lord North and his conclave have thought it meet to push them to the grand eclairsissement by anticipation, backed by his myrmi-

myrmidons of the quill, Dalrymple, Shebeare, Tucker, Johnson, not forgetting his Lordship's goose-feather champion, the Rev. John Wesley, M. A.*

In truth, our dispute with the Colonies, seems to be a quarrel of the Minister's, from official pique, and mortification, rather than a war upon noble, manly, equitable principles. And howe-

* That excellent philosopher, critic, and politician, Lord KAIMS, has discovered, so sagacious and prophetic a spirit, with regard to America, in his sketches of the history of man, article, "Progress of States," that I cannot resist the temptation of inserting it here. It was probably composed before our troubles began. "Our North-American colonies are in a prosperous condition, increasing rapidly in population and opulence. The colonies have the spirit of a free people, and are inflamed with patriotism. Their population will equal that of Britain and Ireland in less than a century : and they will then be a match for the mother country, if they chuse to be independent : every advantage will be on their side, as the attack must be by sea, from a very great distance." Sketches of the History of Man, article, Progress of States. Book II. Sketch IV.

ver it may cast up on the wheel of contingencies, the disinvolution of which, often times depends on mediums of discernment, and tests of scrutiny, seldom within the reach of mortals (though the events of war upon the whole, cannot be said to have been hitherto at all in favour of England) the minister can never descend to his grave in peace, should he not have previously made it up with his God (we will suppose a prime minister acknowledges a God) for the slaughter of his creatures, the robbery of their possessions, and the destruction of their habitations.—The casting vote of parliament, or a privy council; nay, even the approbatory smile of his Sovereign, will not, cannot acquit him, at the tribunal of his Maker, (perhaps not far off) for wantonly and vindictively imbruing his hands in the blood of fellow men—not merely fellow men, but fellow Christians—not merely fellow
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fellow Christians, but fellow Protestants.
—For what?—because the descendants of Britons would not prove themselves less than Britons, or unworthy of the name, by submitting to be amerced and dragooned like slaves into subjection, unmindful of their parentage, and unconscious of the image of God (Freedom) in their foreheads.

It may likewise be remarked here, that Kings, however at present surrounded with sycophants and flatterers, pledging themselves *he cannot do wrong*, whose reigns have been marked with superserviceable war, and stained with unnecessary blood, the blood of their EQUALS in every respect, except a crown, which the most worthless and abandoned oftentimes wear, generally die unlamented, and are seldom recalled to mind by posterity, a discerning, impartial, equitable (because an uncloset-

ed and unpenfioned) Pofterity, but to be execrated.

Vice, weaknefs, folly, firft feduc'd mankind,
 Body (alas !) triumphant o'er the mind,
 To choofe that *thing* of pageantry and ftaw,
 We call a king, law's guardian without law :
 When good, kings more than humanly excel,
 Bad—are the representatives of—hell.

All the palladiums of the ftate feem to be giving way one by one, infomuch that, very foon, it will have nothing to exhibit, but the effigies or mummy of what it once has been : the dead lion kicked and infulted by every long-eared animal paf-
 fing by (of a particular fpecies) that knows to trudge on, humble and fubmiffive, in the trammels of a minifter, or hold up its obfcene mouth in the Houfe, to bray for a penfion.—A fyftem of corruption has pervaded the body politic, as certainly to confume and deftroy it, as a putrefactive taint the human, circulating
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with its juices, and debilitating its solids. From the Premier to the meanest clerk in office, from the court at St. James's, down to the poorest country village, the fatal infection prevails and diffuses itself; the first minister and confidant of royalty bribed for his talents and oratory, and the forty-shilling freeholder bribed for his vote at elections !

A constitution thus supported, in opposition to the faith, truth, and integrity of things, (which amounts to a defiance of Heaven) cannot last long ; and, really, the sooner it comes to an end, provided its internal powers of restoration and reform are sunk beyond hope and expectation, whatever the previous convulsion, the better infinitely. GOD, the patron of virtue, probity and rectitude, not only authorizes the total abolition of such a system, but will likewise propitiate and guarantee

the renovation. Even our world put on its present beauteous and glorious form, in consequence of a chaos; nor would the *deluvian period* ever have happened, but as a remedy for the irrecoverable wickedness and depravity of mankind before the flood. The power that made, and has all along sustained a constitution, if, in the hands of unfaithful and arbitrary governors, it counteracts its original purposes, and has an unequivocal tendency to overthrow the personal freedom of the subject, for the guardianship of which it was alone conceived and elaborated, such a power, I say, may and ought to *unmake and break it to pieces*, in order to throw the materials into a more perfect mold, to produce a more perfect impression. The People, the aggregate power-giving body of the state, are the almighty and irresponsible cause here alluded to, as alone adequate to such an effect.

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A political constitution is like a clock or a watch, being of artificial structure and durability. Without any imputable guilt, or feeling of remorse, the artist takes the latter machinery asunder, when the wheels and springs have been obstructed or worn down beyond repair, and substitutes new in their place. The former piece of machinery, though of the highest order of human device and fabrication, must likewise be taken asunder, as often as its defects become irreparable, and its wastes unsuppliable. Neither is there delinquency, or any cause for compunction, in the one case more than the other. Indeed, as they differ pre-eminently in excellence and value, the care, the accurate inspection, the delicate demur, the deliberative matureness of final judgment, should in an equal degree be pre-eminent. By the unquestionable analogy between the first and the last, staring them in the face
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in all free states, the executive servants of government, the official members of the empire, are kept in order, and long effectually prevented from running into the excesses of tyranny and aristocracism. The whole position is rational, and perfectly consistent with itself.

Kings and statesmen, without the people to feed, clothe, and defend them, would be nothing more, in their high situations, than corks blown about by the winds on the surface of the waters, or buoys cut away from their anchors. Kings and ministers of state, while they so unaccountably *idolize* themselves, and accept of *idolatry* from all around them, (the abject homage paid them deserves no other name) think not of the above humiliating circumstance, which reduces them, from their receipt offices of incense, to the but-
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ter-fly, deprived of his wings, or the master bee disarmed of his sting.

The elected, magistratical departments of society, have presumed so extravagantly on their derived and adventitious greatness, have taken such gigantic strides in office towards despotism, that they must indeed be brought to their proper level, prostrate in submission at the footstool of their creators—the people.

By the People I would not be understood to mean, a riotous mob, a tumult at the market-cross, or a county insurrection, (from which at all times, *good God deliver us !*) but the honourable and respectable Yeomanry of the realm ; the middle class of citizens and country gentlemen, whose wealth, in the gross, is the principal wealth of the nation, and support of government ; and whose edu-

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cation, principles, studies and manners, qualify and intitle them to direct the lowest orders of society, and controul the highest, should *these* to any dangerous length exceed their delegated trust, or *those* discover a forwardness to rush into hasty association, and violent insurgency.

Nothing can be a stronger proof of our degeneracy, infatuation, and ripeness for some revolution, that will severely punish while it brings us to our senses, than two considerations which shall now be mentioned with brevity, but pointedness.

While the British empire is in the state of being rent like a garment from top to bottom, while British glory has been brought under an eclipse, and British honour passes as a problem among nations, the sons of Britain, in a diseased trance of ignoble ambition, are soliciting and
procuring

procuring empty titles from the crown, which, in the absence of virtue, are no more than the colours flying of a ship, after its hulk has been eaten through with worms, or her rudder, cables and anchors, lost in a storm. The M—, after having brought his own into dispute, and endangered the real honour of the nation, by grasping at too much power and dominion, and set one part of his f—— to rob and murder the other, consoles himself with throwing away fictitious honours (the disposal of which was lodged with him by the People for a quite different purpose) on men whose only merit consists in humouring and flattering him in P—s and P. C—s. This consideration at once serves to point out the political disease of the times, and its apparent eventual termination.

The other is this : In the above recited melancholy situation of public affairs, our

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nobles and gentry, instead of being roused to self-reformation, and hereby (the only possible method) recommending the fleets and armies of Great Britain to the protection and blessing of Heaven, are hurrying into every scene of vice, folly, dissipation and debauchery ; horse-races, cock-fights, gambling tables, and masquerades : while the public teachers of the land, the clergy, either look on with total unconcern, or actually partake themselves of these ill-timed pleasures and amusements, the lawn-sleeve bishop, and his powdered chaplain, equally lost to a sense of honour, duty, and decorum. These are facts notorious to every eye, and in the face of the sun call upon Heaven to punish us as a nation and people.— GOD, however, brings good out of evil. He has made us instruments to render a *great Continent* wise at our expence, to check the inhabitants in their career of luxury, and recall them to the almost deserted

serted paths of piety and virtue, and hereby opened an *immense future asylum* for the good of all regions.*

It is acknowledged, in the midst of this black and dismal prospect, the Colonies in a state of formidable revolt, and France and Spain ready to take advantage of our blundering and distracted councils, our national supineness and imbecility; that the *fashionable routine* of public worship (like most other *fashions*) on Sundays and holidays, goes regularly on: but alas! in this respect, we are no better than the

* This also the Americans have been enabled to effect, by the emboldening feel of their own hitherto untried powers, the internal vigour of youthful territory, without obstruction from a religious establishment, which has always had a baneful influence on general improvement, and the birth of free states. This I make no scruple to assert, notwithstanding what his Grace of York, in the true spirit of his order, has written on the contrary side. Bishops, I believe, would as soon relinquish to Laymen the emoluments of their sees, (the avulsion of soul and body) as cease to flatter and idolize the ecclesiastical constitution they belong to. *How can they believe, that receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God alone?*

Jews were of old, *scribes and pharisees, hypocrites*, when CHRIST delivered *this* prediction, which was afterwards literally accomplished. *Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here ! Jesus said unto him, seest thou those great buildings ? (our cathedrals and churches) there shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down !**—It is likewise acknowledged, that we have had a *public fast-day* appointed, by authority, for Great Britain and Ireland, the Priv—Coun— of E—— obliged, though somewhat *late*, to follow the example of the Americans, without the pure piety, and virtuous patriotism, of these determined Continentalists. But Almighty God has condemned and reprobated (for ever) all such deceitful hypocritical service, the mere flourish of ambitious, temporising

* As the only temple ever appointed by God, was destroyed by his own express command, by what authority have modern temples been erected, the medium of every error, and corruption, incident to the Jewish temple ? —But this by the bye—

ecclesiastics, imposing on the unexamining spirit of their S—; the mere *rant* of a party, the mere *bue-and-cry* of a mercenary establishment. Here follow the words of inspiration, which ought to strike all k—s, pri— coun—s, and proclam—s, Right and Most Rev. Bishops, *dumb for ever. Behold YE fast for strife and debate, and smite with the fist of wickedness. YE SHALL NOT fast as YE do THIS DAY, to make YOUR voice to be heard in high! Is it SUCH a fast as I have chosen?—A day for a man to afflict his SOUL?—Is it to bow down his head as a bull-rush, and to spread sack-cloth and ashes under him?—Is not THIS the fast that I have chosen?—To loose the bands of wickedness?—To UNDO the heavy burdens, and to let the OPPRESSED GO FREE, AND THAT YE BREAK EVERY YOKE?**—To conclude the whole.

However,

* The idea of expunging the sins and wickedness of years and generations, by mere *human atonement*, the of-
tentations

However unfashionable, unpopular, and uncourtly the introduction of *Scripture* into a political tract, I cannot help transcribing here another striking passage from the most venerable book in the world. From which it appears, that the ordinary business of life going on in its accustomed channel, added to the most soothing and flattering ideas of home security, instead of forming a barrier against overwhelming calamities, rather tend to create suspicions of their approach, when a nation has lost its internal character of integrity, temperance, truth, virtue, justice and clemency. Notwithstanding our present *seeming* tranquillity and safety, in Great Britain and Ireland, it is certain that the

tentatious devotion of *one day*, is an idea that could only have pervaded the brain of a statesman, or a bishop. Moreover, the Americans got the start of us at the throne of grace, if there is indeed any priority there.—In short, such superstition might have answered in Jewish times, but under the Christian dispensation, it is all farce and delusion. A man saying, in presence of his fellow creatures, “I repent,” is not repenting.

effort

effort towards overturning the genuine principles of our *once* happy and envied constitution, has been made, the stroke of despotism struck, in AMERICA.—The Americans are Britons by descent ; in spirit our equals : and in genuine patriotism, our superiors. Every article of Freedom we enjoy, *they* have an equal right to enjoy : therefore, ministerial oppression exerting itself *there*, is the same thing, with regard to the safety and stability of the empire at large, as if it had been exerted *here*. Tyranny failing in its attempts on the other side the Atlantic, we shall be safe at home : should it, however, succeed, we shall as surely be undone, with the satisfaction, indeed, the exquisite satisfaction, of being the last, indulgently, that shall be devoured by the hideous monster. —But what an act of folly and madness, not to be alarmed when our neighbour's house is on fire, because the flames have not as yet catch'd hold of our own !—Ireland

land will probably be the first sacrifice, after the subjugation of America; having sunk herself into that political tameness, languor, and insensibility, so favourable to the views of tyranny, and the purposes of ambitious rulers. America and Ireland laid prostrate at the despot's feet, Great Britain, once the mistress of the world, but now scarce mistress of herself, will, and must of course, bow her head to the ignoble yoke.—But to have done—These are the words of a personage above all kings and legislators.—*They did eat, they drank,—they married wives—they were given in marriage—until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all. Likewise also as it was in the days of Lot; they did eat—they drank—they bought—they sold—they planted—they builded—but the same day that Lot went out of Sodom, it rained fire and brimstone from Heaven, and destroyed them all.*

T H E E N D.

P O S T C R I P T.

Since the foregoing sheets were printed off, authentic advices, those too *official*, have arrived from America, that too disastrously tend to verify many of the conjectures contained in them. The capitulation of General Burgoyne's army stands in the place of a thousand arguments ; but, at the same time, tend to corroborate and sanctify those that have been advanced in disparagement of our fond hopes of subduing the Americans.

Our situation is deplorable and ominous. It is, indeed, irretrievable, except in one way. No deep penetration would seem necessary to find out this way. It is to make peace, *immediate peace*, with the Americans, on any terms that have a tendency to reinstate us in their friendship

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and

and kind affections, and to prevent their territory being connected municipally or commercially, with any other state.

To effect these momentous objects, on which not only the glory, but the very existence of the British empire eventually depends, the present set of ministers must be dispossessed of their inglorious and abused places ; and personages substituted in their stead, that have the confidence of the nation, the veneration of the colonies, and the esteem of the world.

America will never negotiate with such weak, misinformed, sanguinary, and unrelenting men, as Lord North, Lord G. Germain ; or, in short, any Lord now basking in the sickly sunshine of royal partiality.

The Colonies execrate and abominate them to a man ; lay their finger on them

as the immediate causes of their calamities and sufferings. Other directors of the helm must be chosen, that are known to have skill and ability sufficient to steer the political vessel safely into port, after having been harraßed with perpetual storms, and just not been bulged on the faithless rock, or buried in the mighty deep.

It is no diminution of British character, and honour, to *repent*. God himself, with respect to his conduct towards the Jews, (we have it on sacred record) *repented*. Shall then, God's little creatures, Lord North, Lord George Germain; or, in truth, any Lord in Royal keeping, blush or hesitate, after such an example, to—*repent*? Sins are the foundation of repentance. Who are greater sinners, whether as delegates of the people, or ministers of state, than the ignominious Lords and Gentlemen now in administration? And

who, of course, ought to be the greatest penitents, but the allowed greatest sinners ?

The whole series of events, since the commencement of the war, have incontrovertibly proved, that we have all along, with astonishing infatuation, *deceived ourselves*. Subduing the *bodies* of the Americans, is not subduing their *minds*. Taking a *town*, is not conquering a *province*. Nay, over-running even a *province* with fire and sword, is not acquiring or guaranteeing the possession of the *continent*. Moreover, we must conquer Nature ; or rather, the God of Nature, before we conquer the Americans : that is, we must fill up morasses, drain rivers, cut down forests, and level mountains, before we can reduce the Americans to become our taxational, our discretionary slaves. These, with the elements of ice and snow,

now, are in alliance with the Americans, and defy the world.—Farther, I would adopt the words of an honest man, as well as a wise senator, and wish the Americans triumphant, rather than inflaved; convinced, with that upright and comprehensive speaker, “That Peace with America, and war with all the world beside, should not only be taught from the pen, but the sword of every free and generous Briton.” To conclude,

The late accounts from America evince, with the obviousness of a sun-beam, that the olive branch, not the sword of slaughter, is to decide the fate of the British empire. Her fate, with the tenuity of a spider’s web, depends on her union with the Colonies. Separate Great Britain from these, and she must exhibit the piteous spectacle of an old infirm man, invaded in his house by robbers and plunderers,
but

but without his sons to protect him, growing in strength, as his declines, and acquiring the glow and vigour of adulthood, in proportion as he feels the paralytic coldness and imbecility of senescence approaching. To turn these robust, and, if gently treated, generous striplings out of doors, from a stubborn regard to the wire-drawn niceties of parental jurisdiction, at a time when he needs most their assistance and protection, would seem an instance of rashness and folly, inconsistent with age and experience.—The analogy is pointed, and ought to be convincing. What is the remedy? As self-evident as the disease. Let the parents (over-weeningly tenacious of domestic authority) recal those ingenious and high-blooded youths into his family once more, and conquer them to his will by the most irresistible of all methods, good usage. To drop the metaphor, let Great Britain, forgetting

getting past causes of provocation and discontent, address the Colonies with kindness and affection, and leave the consequence of refusal to themselves. Our situation, even supposing a rejection of the offer, cannot be worse than it is at present. Should she demur, or hesitate on the brink of false pride, and feminine punctilio, she must be undone for ever. A similar future opportunity may never occur. Her sun having passed the meridian, must diverge into twilight, and then sink into total unrecoverable night.

E R R A T A.

Preface, page xx, line 1, for *These blessed deductions*, read *This blessed deduction*. Idem, l. 10, for *subfist*, r. *subfists*. Idem, l. 12, dele *and* before absolutely. P. xxiv, l. 3, for *from laws of the*, r. *the mere laws of*. P. xxxvii, l. 14, for *marks*, r. *mouths*.—Chapter I, Page 12, l. 2, for *under*, r. *into*. Idem, l. 7, for *country*, r. *county*. P. 33, l. 6, for *out lash*, r. *out flash*. Idem, l. 11, for *equivalent*, r. *equipollent*. Chapter II, P. 62, the Note, l. 5, for *Cælas comprehended*, r. *alas comprehend*. P. 66, l. 8, before *fashion*, r. *avith*.

